

113c
A - N
E X A M I N A T I O N
O F
Mr. *Warburton's* Account
O F T H E
Conduct of the *Antient* LEGISLATORS,
O F T H E
Double Doctrine of the Old Philosophers,
O F T H E
THEOCRACY of the J E W S,
A N D O F
Sir *Isaac Newton's* CHRONOLOGY.
By ARTHUR ASHLEY SYKES, D. D.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. and P. K N A P T O N, at the
Crown in *Ludgate-Street*.

M.DCC.XLIV.



E R R A T A.

P A G E 31. l. 19. for, *He*; read *Or be*.
L. 20. dele, *I say*.

Page 36. l. *ult.* for, *θιδν καταρξίνσις*; read,
δεῶν καταρξίνσις.

Page 39. l. *pen.* for *babetur*; read, *habes*.

Page 55. l. 1. for, *made*; read, *bad made*.

Page 239. l. 22. for, *was*; read *is*.

Page 263. l. 19. for, *bad*; read *bas*.

EXAMINATION

O F

Mr. WARBURTON's, &c.

REVEREND SIR,

YOU desire so earnestly, and press so much to have my Sentiments about a late Book that has been much read, and more talked of, both in Town and Country, that I know not how to withstand your Importunity any longer. I send you therefore some of the Remarks which I made upon reading over *The Divine Legation of Moses*; enough, I hope, to satisfy your Curiosity, and to shew my Readiness to comply with your Requests.

You know very well our old Friend Mr. P***. He calls Mr. *Warburton's* Book a learned *Romance*; and he says with some Humour, that the Digressions in it about the *Mysteries*, the *Hieroglyphics*, the Book of *Job*, are, or may be deemed, so many
B ingenious

ingenious *Novels*, which serve to relieve or divert the Reader. But then, he goes so far as to *doubt*, whether Mr. *Warburton* writes for *Utility* or for *Truth*. ‘ For he
 ‘ has told us so much, says he, about the
 ‘ Practices of those old Philosophers, and
 ‘ how much they were wont to *lie for the*
 ‘ *Publick Good*; that they taught one Thing,
 ‘ and believed another; that they made no
 ‘ Conscience of saying and teaching what
 ‘ they knew or thought to be false on the
 ‘ most important Subjects; and he declares
 ‘ himself to have come from the *Schools* of these
 ‘ Heathen Philosophers, that I cannot but
 ‘ think he may reasonably be suspected, at least
 ‘ for some time, till he has performed a *Qua-*
 ‘ *rantine*, to have *received an Infection* from
 ‘ them, and to have learnt to *lie for the*
 ‘ *Public Good*, as his Masters did before him.

‘ It is true, says our Friend, that Mr.
 ‘ *Warburton* does not think those Men to
 ‘ be *altogether free from Blame*; and it may
 ‘ be said in his Favour, that what he
 ‘ blames a *little* in them, he would not do
 ‘ himself: But yet his Censure of *them* is
 ‘ so very soft, and he is so tender of their
 ‘ moral Character, whilst he is so ready to
 ‘ flame

‘ flame out against, and to shew no Mercy
 ‘ to others, who do not think as he does;
 ‘ that one cannot help imagining, that in
 ‘ his Opinion the good End they had in
 ‘ View did sanctify the Means they used;
 ‘ and that it was no great Fault in them to
 ‘ have *external and internal Doctrines*.

‘ As to himself, he tells us, that he has
 ‘ been “ *in the CABINET COUNCIL of the*
 ‘ *old Lawgivers;*” that he is “ *lately come*
 ‘ *from the SCHOOLS of Heathen Philosophers*”:
 ‘ Vol. II. Pref. p. xiv. That as those
 ‘ Masters made a Distinction between Truth
 ‘ and Utility, and were famous for having
 ‘ an *Esoteric* and *Exoteric* Doctrine, so They
 ‘ were perpetually inculcating to the People
 ‘ what they did not believe themselves:
 ‘ May one not therefore very reasonably
 ‘ doubt, whether Mr. *Warburton* has not
 ‘ *learnt* in the *Schools*, which He professes
 ‘ to be *lately come from*, what They taught
 ‘ there? Whether any one, but a good
 ‘ Proficient, would be admitted into the *Cabi-*
 ‘ *net Council* of the Old Lawgivers? Whether
 ‘ He has not learnt their *Secrets*? Whether
 ‘ therefore what He publishes and inculcates
 ‘ to the People be not *Exoteric*? Whether

‘ it be not a Doctrine calculated only for
 ‘ the *Public Good*? And lastly, whether
 ‘ He believes it to be *True*, more than
 ‘ *Plato*, as he says, believed a future State
 ‘ of Rewards and Punishments?”

You will think perhaps, that This is
 pushed too far; and that our Friend should
 not have pressed this Topic so home. When I
 shew’d him, that Mr. *Warburton* had observ-
 ed in his third Edition, that “ the Princi-
 “ ples, which induced the antient Sages to
 “ deem it lawful to lie or deceive for the
 “ Public Good, had no Place in the Pro-
 “ pagation of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Re-
 “ ligion.” p. 336. ‘ Be it so, said he;
 ‘ do not mistake me. I design no more
 ‘ than this; That if Suspicions and Con-
 ‘ jectures are to be admitted in Opposition
 ‘ to express Declarations, then it may as
 ‘ easily be shewn, that Mr. *Warburton* does
 ‘ not believe what He professes to demon-
 ‘ strate, as that *Plato* did not believe a fu-
 ‘ ture State of Rewards and Punishments?

If his Zeal for the Characters of the old
 Philosophers, whose Morality he so much
 admires, carried the good old Gentleman

too far, or made him express himself with too much Warmth, You must judge : I tell you the Fact. At another Conversation, He open'd himself very freely upon the *Manner* of Mr. *Warburton's* treating his Adversaries. ' I stand amazed, said he, at ' the *Advertisement* lately published in the ' second Edition of the second Volume of ' Mr. *Warburton's* Book. It is so unbecoming, so little like what ought to be ' said by any Man of Letters, that it is not ' easy of late Years to match it. He hath, ' I know, the Examples of some of the ' most eminent Writers that ever *Europe* ' bred, to justify himself in his personal ' Abuses: And he seems to follow their ' Steps in erecting his Throne upon a *Heap* ' of *Stones*, as a great Scholar is said to have ' done before him, that he might have ' one always ready to throw at every Man ' that pass'd by him. He tells us himself ' of an antient Writer, " whose *envious,* " *rabid* Temper, and *perverse* Turn of " Mind, join'd to his perpetual Delight in " Contradiction, gained him the great Title " of *Epitimæus*, the *Calumniator*." This " Man, says Mr. *Warburton*, was remark-

“ able for a certain Mark of a *base* and
 “ *abject Mind*: He was as excessive in his
 “ FLATTERY, as in his *Calumny*”. To
 ‘ this Remark, He adds a Reflection of
 ‘ *Polybius* on him, --- “ In censuring the
 “ Faults of others, he puts on such an Air
 “ of *Severity* and *Confidence*, as if himself
 “ were exempt from Failings, and stood in
 “ no need of Indulgence.” Vol. I. p. 113
 “ -14. Did the angry Writers of the last
 ‘ Age, even the greatest of them, escape
 ‘ themselves, when they took such Liber-
 ‘ ties with others? Did they escape the se-
 ‘ verest Lashes of Adversaries, who thought
 ‘ they had a Right to return the Coin which
 ‘ they had taken in the Republic of Letters?

‘ It is hard to account for this evil Spirit
 ‘ in some that would appear, and fain
 ‘ would be treated as Great Scholars. Mr.
 ‘ *Tillard*, who has the Character of a stu-
 ‘ dious, honest, good Man, in a second
 ‘ Treatise had owned himself to be the
 ‘ Author of a Book, upon which Mr. *War-*
 ‘ *burton* had very freely made his *Remarks*.
 ‘ Upon this, Mr. *Warburton* publishes an
 ‘ *Advertisement* in the second Edition of
 ‘ this second Volume. --- “ The Author of
 ‘ the

“ the Pamphlet here examined hath lately
 “ made a public Confession of his *Author-*
 “ *ship*, sign'd with his own Hand, and
 “ thereby *saved himself* from all further *Cor-*
 “ *rection* of this kind. For He who *is so*
 “ *lost to Shame as a Writer* to own what he
 “ before wrote, and *so lost to Shame as a*
 “ *Man* to own what he hath now written,
 “ must needs be past all Amendment, the
 “ only View in Correction.”

‘ Mr. *Tillard* had been treated, as Mr.
 ‘ *Warburton* himself expresses it, *with very*
 ‘ *little Ceremony*, in his *Remarks*, because
 ‘ He had not *put his Name* to his first
 ‘ Piece. “ I had *put my Name*, says Mr.
 “ *Warburton*, to what I wrote, and he at-
 “ tacks me *without any*. Had either I con-
 “ cealed mine, or he *told* his, he might then
 “ have expected (if in other Respects he
 “ deserved it) what the usual Commerce
 “ of *Civility* demands between People upon
 “ equal Terms: But writing *without a*
 “ *Name* in the Manner he has done, is least
 “ of all excusable. For when a Man’s Per-
 “ son or Reputation is attack’d, I know
 “ little Difference between the *Russian*, and
 “ the *Writer*, in the *dark.*” Rem. p. 57.

‘ Thus is Mr. *Tillard* treated for *writing*
 ‘ *without a Name*. Upon this Mr. *Tillard*
 ‘ writes a second Book, owns the Former,
 ‘ and *puts his Name* in the Title as Mr.
 ‘ *Warburton* had done; and thus far they
 ‘ were now *upon equal Terms*. What now
 “ is to be done? Why, Mr. *Tillard* is *lost*
 “ *to Shame*, as a *Writer*, to *own* what he
 “ had wrote before: And He is *lost to*
 “ *Shame*, as a *Man*, to *own* what he has
 “ now written.” Let us suppose, that Mr.
Tillard had *told his Name* at first: Mr.
Warburton’s Remark *must* have been,
 that He was “ *lost to Shame as a Writer;*”
 ‘ because *now*, when he has put his Name
 ‘ by publickly owning that first Book, He
 ‘ has this Imputation laid on him. How
 ‘ then might he have expected, or if he
 ‘ had expected would he have had, “ What
 “ the usual Commerce of *Civility* demands
 “ between People upon equal Terms?” Or
 ‘ is it the usual Commerce of *Civility* thus
 ‘ to tell a Man He is “ *lost to Shame?*” Mr.
 ‘ *Tillard*’s first Book was not thought *be-*
 ‘ *neath* Mr. *Warburton*’s Pains to write
 ‘ *Remarks* upon it. When the second
 ‘ appeared, it was *with a Name?* See now
 ‘ the

‘ the Air with which this is treated. --- “ I
 “ shall therefore, says Mr. *Warburton*, but
 “ do, what indeed (were it any more
 “ than repeating what he himself hath
 “ discovered to the Public) would be
 “ justly reckoned the *cruellest* of all
 “ Things, tell the Reader the Name of
 “ this MISERABLE, which we find to be
 “ *J. Tillard.*” ‘ Can you match this Piece
 ‘ of *Civility*? Rudeness, and Ill-Manners,
 ‘ and Incivility is bad in every Body; but
 ‘ worse in a Clergyman than in any other;
 ‘ and no Man whatever should put on such
 “ an Air of *Confidence* and *Severity*, but
 “ he that is sure that he is free from
 “ Failings;” and even such a Man, if he
 ‘ has a right Mind, will think that all
 ‘ Men stand in need of “ *Indulgence.*”

I was with our old Friend Mr. P*** a
 third Time; and then he asked me, Whether I had examined Mr. *Warburton's* Quotations with any Care. Upon my replying, that I had taken it for granted, that so learned a Man would certainly not impose on his Readers, at least not willingly, He bad me reach him Mr. *Warburton's* second Volume, and bring with me *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

‘ You

‘ You may remember, said he, that to
 ‘ give an Account of the *Hieroglyphics*, he
 ‘ cites from *Clemens* a long Passage; and
 ‘ charges him with a Mistake, “ in making
 “ *the Epistolary* Writing first in ORDER OF
 “ TIME, which was indeed the Last.” It is
 ‘ in p. 99-102. Now there is not in
 ‘ *Clemens* one Word, which signifies which
 ‘ was the *First*, or which was the *Last*, in
 ‘ ORDER OF TIME, of those several Ways
 ‘ of Writing which the *Egyptians* used.
 ‘ Which of them was invented *First*, or
 ‘ which was *Last*, must appear from some-
 ‘ thing else, or it cannot be shewn at all.
 ‘ *Clemens* is here speaking, not of the Order
 ‘ of Invention, but of the Method of *teach-*
 ‘ *ing* others what had long enough been
 ‘ invented before: And he says, (a) *Those*
 ‘ *who are instructed by the Egyptians, first*
 ‘ *of all learn the Method of the Egyptian*
 ‘ *Letters, which is called Epistolary, or*
 ‘ *Epistolographic: The second is the Hie-*
 ‘ *ratic, which the sacred Scribes use: The*
 ‘ *last and final is the Hieroglyphic.* This

(a) Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον
 μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμαν-
 δάσκει, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν καλεμένην. δευτέραν δὲ τὴν
 ἱερατικὴν ἢ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς. ὑσάτην καὶ τελευ-
 ταίαν τὴν ἱερογλυφικὴν. Clemens. Strom 5.

‘ then

‘ then was their Manner of Teaching; but
 ‘ as to the ORDER OF TIME in inventing
 ‘ these several Methods of conveying their
 ‘ Sentiments, there is not one Word.
 ‘ Whence therefore is it, that Mr. War-
 ‘ burton could discover a Mistake in this
 ‘ Passage of Clemens? Mr. Warburton’s
 ‘ Words are, upon citing this Place. ---
 “ The *first* Mistake common to both [Por-
 “ phyry and Clemens] and the natural Con-
 “ sequence of that false Principle is making
 “ the Epistolary Writing *first* in Order of
 “ TIME, *which was indeed the last.*” But
 ‘ how does it appear from this Passage,
 ‘ that Clemens was under any Mistake, or
 ‘ even so much as thought of which was
 ‘ *First* or *Last*, as to Order of TIME in
 ‘ which these Methods were invented?
 ‘ Why, thus Mr. Warburton goes on,---
 “ For that this was their Sentiment ap-
 “ pears from Clemens’s calling Hieroglyphic
 “ Writing, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς τελευταίας the last and
 “ most perfect kind.” Clemens is not in
 ‘ these Words speaking of the Hierogly-
 ‘ phics, as the last and most perfect kind of
 ‘ writing, but as the last and final or finish-
 ‘ ing

‘*ing* Thing taught those who came to be
‘*instructed*.’”

He mentioned several other Quotations (more than you would imagine) which appeared to me very much mistaken, or misapplied; and made me read the Book a second time. And since you desire the Remarks I made, I send you now what occur'd to me in reading Three or Four of his principal Heads: And I shall begin with what he has said on the Conduct of the antient Legislators.

The Point to be proved by Mr. *Warburton* is, That there is a certain Difference between *Moses* and *all* other Lawgivers. That *Moses* never inculcated the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments; which yet is absolutely necessary to the Well-being of Society; and that *All* other Legislators did. Hence he undertakes to *demonstrate* the Divine Legation of *Moses* from *his Omission* of this Doctrine among the *Jews*.

It is very remarkable, that when Mr. *Warburton* first published his First Volume, he attempted to prove, that the Legislators of Old endeavoured to inculcate Religion,
by

by making the Doctrine of a Providence in *its full Extent*, the grand *Sanction* of their Laws, with which their Systems of Institutes were *prefaced* and *introduced*. And his Argument indeed required, that it should be so, since if only a *present* Interposition of Providence was all that was inculcated by them, *Moses* and They would be at least upon the Par. He therefore insisted that the old Legislators urged a Providence *in its full Extent*, *i. e.* as it took in a *future* State, as well as the *present*, as the *grand Sanction* of their Laws. In his last Edition He has changed the Words, and very much the Sense of his Proposition, by laying down this as his Point to be proved.---The Legislators endeavour'd "to propagate Religion
" by making the Doctrine of a Providence,
" with which *in its full Extent* they pre-
" faced and introduced their Laws, the
" grand Sanction of their Institutions." In the first Edition, *a Providence in its full Extent* was the grand Sanction of their Laws: In the last,--- a *Providence* is the Sanction of their Institutions; and they only *prefaced and introduced* their Laws with it
in

in its full Extent. But neither the one, nor the other, of the Propositions is true.

That some of the old Legislators introduced their Laws with a Profession of the Existence of Gods and Demons, and recommended a religious Observance of their Institutes, is true: But that they ALL so much as prefaced their Laws with the Doctrine of a Providence, either in its full Extent, or not; either as it takes in a future State of Rewards and Punishments or not, is so far from being true, that *some* of them never introduced their Laws with any Thing about a Providence; and even the Prefaces of the Three Legislators which Mr. Warburton cites, do not so much as mention a Providence *in its full Extent.* *Maximus Tyrius* has observed, as Mr. Warburton has cited him, that neither did *Solon*, nor the venerable Laws of *Draco*, take Notice of the Gods. This is charged with being an egregious Mistake in *Maximus Tyrius*; and a Law of *Draco's* concerning the Mode of worshipping the Gods is mentioned, p. 107. Allowing this, the Point to be proved was, that a Providence was the SANCTION of *Solon's* or *Draco's* Laws; or
that

that their Laws were prefaced and introduced with it in its full Extent. That they might mention the Gods in their Laws, or provide for the Reverence or Worship of the Gods is one Thing; to make a *Providence the Sanction* of their Laws is quite another: it is still a different Thing to *preface* their Laws with a Providence in its *full Extent*.

When Mr. *Warburton* had mentioned *Zaleucus* as an Instance of one who had *introduced* his Laws with the Doctrine of a Providence in *its full Extent*, whether it was owing to accidental Forgetfulness of what he was to prove, or to real Want of Proof, or whatever else was the Reason, --- instead of producing clear and positive Evidence in Confirmation of his Point, He digresses for fourteen Pages together to prove against a very judicious and able Critic, that the Preface to *Zaleucus's* Laws was no Forgery. I enter not into that Dispute: Mr. *Warburton's* Business was to prove, what *Zaleucus* is quoted for, and not that it was no Forgery: He was to have shewn, that *Zaleucus* had made the Doctrine of a Providence the *Sanction* of his Laws, or had prefaced them with that Doctrine in its *full Extent*.

It

It is true, that if any Lawgiver thought proper to go to first Principles, or designed to teach his People the Foundations of good Morals, and upon them to build his civil Institutions : It was *useful* and much to the Purpose, to enter so deep into the Matter. And thus did *Cicero*, in Imitation of *Plato* ; and thus did *Plato* in Imitation of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*. They *prefaced* or *introduced* their Institutions with Directions how Men ought to regulate their Lives ; what an Advantage it was to themselves and to the Community to be *virtuous* ; and they told them how acceptable they would make themselves by this Behaviour to the Gods. But this is not making a Providence the *Sanction* of their Laws : Or if it be, I apprehend *Moses* has done as much as this : No nor is it *prefacing* their Institutions with the Doctrine of a Providence *in its full Extent*.

“ We are told indeed, that ALL the Legislators of Old unanimously agreed in
 “ propagating the Belief of a future State of
 “ Rewards and Punishments: but that there
 “ was this very singular Difference between
 “ *Moses's* Institution, and all the other Institutions of Mankind, that tho' he like
 “ them

“ them taught an over-ruling Providence,
 “ and a Religion, yet it was without the
 “ Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and
 “ Punishments.” This is the Position in
 the *Alliance of Church and State*. It can be
 no difficult Matter, one would think, to
 prove so plain a Point, if the Fact be true.
 The Words of the several Legislators, or at
 least of many of them, or some old Testi-
 monies to such a Practice, may be produced
 and compared with the Words of *Moses*;
 and if it appears that they have inculcated a
 future State of Rewards and Punishments,
 either in their Laws, or in the Prefaces to
 their Laws, more than *Moses* has done, the
 Evidence will soon appear. But the Mis-
 chief is, that Mr. *Warburton* has not pro-
 duced one single Instance of any old Law-
 giver, nor can he produce One, that has
 made a Providence *in its full Extent*, either
 the *Sanction* of his Laws, or has taught that
 Doctrine in the *Preface* of his Laws.

Let us descend to Particulars.

Zaleucus's Laws had this Proœmium;
 which, if I translate in many Places diffe-
 rently from Mr. *Warburton*, I do it to ex-

press the Original more nearly. (b) “ All
 “ the Inhabitants, whether of City or Coun-
 “ try, should first of all be firmly persuaded
 “ of the *Existence of the Gods*. — These Gods
 “ are to be worshipped and honoured as the
 “ *Cause of all the real Good which we enjoy*,—
 “ for which Reason every one that desires to
 “ render himself *beloved by the Gods*, should,

(b) Τὸς κατοικῶντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν πάντας
 πρῶτον πεπειῖσθαι χρὴ, καὶ νομίζειν θεοὺς εἶναι, — σέβεσθαι δὲ
 ταύτας καὶ τιμᾶν, ὡς αἰτίους ὄντας ἀπάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν —
 διὸ ἕκαστον δεῖ εἰς δύναμιν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πράξει καὶ
 προαιεῖσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι θεοφιλή, καὶ πολίτην ἀμει-
 νονα ὀνομάζειν τὸν τὴν οὐσίαν προϊέμενον μᾶλλον τῷ καλοῦ
 καὶ δίκαιῳ. Ὅσοις δὲ μὴ ῥάδιον πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν ὁρμὴν
 πεπειῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκκίνητον πρὸς ἀδικίαν,
 ὧδ' ἡμῖν παρεγγέλθω. Πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις πολίταις καὶ
 πολίτισι καὶ συνοικοῖς μεμνηῖσθαι θεῶν ὡς ὄντων, καὶ δίκας
 ἐπιτεμπρόντων τοῖς ἀδίκοις. καὶ τίθεσθαι πρὸ ὀμμάτων τὸν
 καιρὸν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ γίνεταί τὸ τέλος ἑκάστῳ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς
 τῆς ζῆν. πᾶσι γὰρ ἐμπίπτει μεταμέλεια τοῖς μέλλουσι
 τελευτῆαν, μεμνημένοις ὧν ἠδικήκασιν, καὶ ὁρμὴ τῇ βίβεσθαι
 πάντα πεπεράχθαι δικαίως αὐτοῖς. Διὸ δεῖ ἕκαστον παρ'
 ἑκάστην πράξιν ἀεὶ συνοικεῖν τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ὡς δὴ πα-
 ρόντων: ἥτις γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τῷ καλοῦ καὶ δίκαιῳ φρονήσειν.
 Εάν δὲ παραστῇ δαίμων κακὸς τρέπων πρὸς ἀδικίαν, δια-
 τεῖβειν πρὸς ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεσι, φεύγοντα τὴν
 ἀδικίαν, ὡς δέποιον ἀσεβεσάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην, ἱκε-
 τεύουσα τὰς θεοὺς συναποτρέπειν αὐτήν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρὸς
 ἀνδρας δόξαν ἔχοντας ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθία ἀκυσόμενος περὶ
 εὐδαίμονος βίης, καὶ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμωρίας ἵνα ἀποτρέπῃ
 τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων, δεσιδαιμονῶν δαίμονας ἀλάστορας.
 Πάντας δὲ τιμῶν ΤΟΥΣ * οἱ κατοικῶντες τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις τοῖς πατρίοις τὰς θεοὺς. — Πόλιν δὲ
 φιλαίτεραν μηδὲς ἄλλην ποιεῖτω τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος, ὡς
 θεῶν πατρῶων νεμεσῶντων. Stob. Serm. 42.

I think this mutilous Place should be filled up with some
 such Word as *θυσίαις*, and read thus, — Πάντας δὲ τιμῶντο
 ταῖς θυσίαις, κ. τ. λ.

“ to

OLD LEGISLATORS *consider'd.* 19

“ to the best of his Power, be good both in
“ Practice and Principle, and to esteem
“ him a better Citizen who parts with his
“ Substance than with what is right
“ and just. But as for those, whose Appe-
“ tites are so violent, as not to be persuaded
“ to these Things, but have a Mind easily
“ moved to Evil [or Injustice] we com-
“ mand thus: That all such Citizens, Men
“ and Women, and all Sojourners, should
“ *keep in their Thoughts* the Gods, as ex-
“ *isting*, and *sending Punishments upon the*
“ *Unjust*; and should set before their Eyes
“ that Time, when an *End of Life* shall
“ happen to every one. For Repentance
“ [or Remorse] happens to all that are
“ about to die, who remember what they
“ have done *unjustly*; and they have a
“ strong Desire or Wish, that they had
“ heretofore done every Thing as they
“ ought to have done. Every one there-
“ fore ought in every Action always to fa-
“ miliarize *that Time*, as if it were present;
“ for by this Means he will keep up an
“ exact Regard to Virtue and Goodness.
“ But if the *wicked Demon* stands near him,
“ influencing him to Wickedness, he ought

“ to frequent the Altars and Temples of
 “ the Gods, flying from Injustice [or Evil]
 “ as the wickedest and cruellest Mistrefs,
 “ praying the Gods to help to drive her
 “ away. Let him moreover have Recourfe
 “ to Men, who have a Reputation for Vir-
 “ tue, and hear them Difcourfe about a
 “ truly happy Life, and the Punifhment of
 “ wicked Men, that he may turn from a
 “ wicked Life.”

Here Mr. *Warburton* ftops ; but he might
 have gone on,--- “ That he may turn from a
 “ wicked Life, dreading the avenging De-
 “ mons, or, that always remember what is
 “ done. Let all that dwell in the City wor-
 “ fhip the Gods, according to their Country
 “ Rites.---Let no Man love another State
 “ more than his own Country, becaufe the
 “ Gods of his own Country are difpleafed
 “ with him for fo doing.”

The Obfervations naturally arifing from
 this Preface of *Zaleucus* are,

1. He fpeaks of the Gods with great
 Reverence and Refpect ; and he (c) begins
 with inculcating on his People, that every

(c) Καταβαλόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν νομοθεσίαν, ἡρξάτο
 πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανίων θεῶν. Diod. Sic. l. 12. p. 84

Inhabitant ought to be persuaded of their
 “ *Existence.*” But here is not a Word of
 a *future State* of Punishments or Rewards,
 as the *Sanction* of his Laws : No, nor are
 his Laws so much as *prefaced* or *introduced*
 with any Notion of Providence “ *in its full*
 “ *Extent.*” He says, That the Gods are
 “ the Authors of all the good Things
 “ which we enjoy :” By which he means
 only the *present* good Things, whatever
 they are ; the good Things, τῶν κατὰ λόγον
 γιγνομένων, which by any Means happen
 to us. And with a View to the obtain-
 ing these “ Good Things,” he says, “ He
 “ that would make himself *beloved by the*
 “ *Gods,* should to the best of his Power be good
 “ both in Principle and Practice.” Had he
 designed to speak of a *future State*, or to say
 that God would punish Men *hereafter*, He
 would not have given this Reason, why
 Men should keep their Minds *pure and free*
from all Evil, “ *because God is not honoured*
 “ *by a wicked Man ;*” but his Thought
 would naturally have carried him to have
 mentioned that Part of the Scheme of Pro-
 vidence, which would have struck much
 more forcibly on the Minds of Men.

2. He says, *that* wicked Men should “dread the never-forgetting, or avenging Demons.” Why they should do this, is not on account of any Notion of a *future State*, but to avoid *present* Temporal Evils, such as affect private Families, or public Safety. And that this was the only Use that was intended by inculcating the Fear of *avenging Demons*, will appear, when we come to consider *Charondas’s* Preface.

3. When *Zaleucus* speaks of the *Punishments* which the Gods *send upon the Wicked*, he speaks of them as doing it in the *present* Time; not saying what the Gods would do *hereafter*, or expressing himself in Relation to *Futurity*, but as *ἐπιτεμνόντων*, *now sending* the Evils. *Mr. Warburton* here misleads his Reader by translating this Passage thus.—*The Judgments they always have in Store for wicked Men*; for by this he plainly means something that is *future*: but *Zaleucus* speaks not of Judgments kept *in Store*, but immediately issued out upon Offenders. When,

4. He speaks of the *tutelar Gods of the Country* being *angry* with any one that prefers or loves more any other Country than his
own,

own,---It was not with any View to *future* Punishments or a *future* State ; but it wholly relates to their *present* State and Circumstances, ὡς Θεῶν παρῶν νεμεσάντων. The Tutelar Gods would at *present* be angry, and not preserve them, nor take any care about them.

Lastly, He adds, (*d*) that “ *after the Gods, and Demons, and Heroes, Parents and the Laws and the Governors should be next in Honour amongst Men that have Sense and Understanding, and that would be kept safe.*” It is not any *future* Punishment, but a *present* one, the *Safety* of the People or State, that is made the Effect of honouring the Gods and Demons, and *Laws* that were instituted for their great Security. So that from *Zaleucus's Preface* to his Laws, nothing appears of any Notion of a Providence *in its full Extent* ; much less is it made the Grand *Sanction* of his Laws ; nor has Mr. *Warburton* proved, that the Old Legislators meant a Providence *in*

(*d*) Μετὰ Θεῶν, καὶ Δαίμονας καὶ ἥρωας, γονεῖς τε καὶ νόμοι καὶ ἀρχόντες συνεγχεῖς εἰσι ταῖς τιμαῖς παρ' ἀνθρώποις τοῦν ἔχουσι καὶ ΣΩΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ. Stob. *ibid.*

its full Extent : but has taken for granted what He was to prove.

And indeed if one considers it with any Accuracy, it is impossible it should be proved. I would not willingly be disputing about a Word, and therefore must previously observe, That by the *Sanction* of a Law is usually meant the Reward or Penalty annexed to any Law, in order to enforce its Observation upon the Subject. In order to make a Law obtain its End, and to overcome the Pravity or the Obstinacy of Mankind by working on their *Fears*, it was always customary for, and Legislators have thought it necessary, *Sancire pœnis legum observantiam*, to enforce by Penalties the Observation of Laws : And as Mankind have other Passions and Affections, which may be influenced as well as *Fear*, it has been thought by all Legislators not improper to lay hold of them too ; and by encouraging *Hopes* by Promise of Rewards, to excite their Subjects to Rightness of Action.

Mr. Warburton I know has a Notion,
“ That the Sanction of Rewards neither
“ was, nor could be, enforced by Society
“ for the Observance of its Laws.” p. 15.
What

What He means by this odd Language, to *enforce the Sanction* of Rewards, I profess I know not. He elsewhere tells us, " That
 " *Moses* deliver'd to the *Israelites* a com-
 " pleat Digest of Law and Religion,--- and
 " for the Observance of his entire Institu-
 " tion he added the Sanction of *Rewards*
 " and Punishments : Both which we have
 " shewn to be necessary for the Support of
 " a Republic ; and yet that Civil Society,
 " as such, can *administer* only one, namely
 " Punishments." Vol. II. p. 447. It is
 not worth while to digress so far as to en-
 quire what is meant by these Passages. It
 is sufficient to observe, that Civil Society
 can *reward* Particulars for any eminent Ser-
 vices : nay it can by Law enact *Rewards* for
 such as shall merit them by their good Be-
 haviour, in particular Circumstances, whe-
 ther it be by ordering Honours, or Money,
 or by any other Encouragement, which it
 may think fit to propose. This is what Po-
 liticians mean, and all they mean, when
 they talk of the Sanction of *Rewards* ; and
 This, Society can give ; and if to this be add-
 ed the Sanction of *Punishments*, These are
 properly

properly called “ the two Pillars of Government.”

But then if the Good or Evil proposed by Legislators in order to enforce their Laws, be something out of the Power of the Legislator to put in Execution, it implies an Absurdity in them to make such Reward or Punishment the *Sanction* of their Laws. The Penalties therefore, or the Happiness of a *future State*, can only be annexed to such Laws as God is the immediate Author of ; because God alone can put them in Execution : and accordingly the *Law of Nature*, and the *Christian Law*, have a *future State* of Rewards and Punishments for their Sanction. But a Human Law, with *such* a Sanction annexed to the Observation or Violation of it, is the same Thing as having *no Sanction* to it at all, because the Legislator cannot secure Obedience by that which he cannot execute. For,

Let us suppose, that *Zaleucus* had been the Institutor of a Body of Laws ; or any other Legislator of Old had instituted such Laws as *Zaleucus* did ; and had made a future State the Sanction of his Laws,--- what must have been the Consequence ? Suppose
that

that a wicked Man among the *Locrians* had been guilty of Murder, Theft, or any other Crime condemn'd by *Zaleucus* : The Law must be put in Execution. Bid then the Man, as *Zaleucus* bids him, *think* of God as *existing* and *sending his Judgments* : Tell him of a Change of Life, and of the Repentance he now hath : Tell him how much he now wishes at the Hour of Death to have acted a righteous, just and honest Part : Tell him all that *Zaleucus* commands.--- And will not the Law be fully executed, when its grand *Sanction* is thus administred ? If this be the *Sanction* of the Law, it shews the Absurdity of making such a *Sanction*, and that Mr. *Warburton* has invented a new Sort of Language, which the Writers on Politics are Strangers to.

Cicero very justly calls the (e) *Belief of the Gods*, and of *their Providence*, *their Government of all Things*, *their Knowledge of whatever is done*, and the *Distinction that is*

(e) Sit igitur hoc jam principio persuasum civibus, Dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos: eaque quæ geruntur, eorum geri vi, ditione atque numine: eisdemque optime de genere hominum mereri: et qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate colat religiones, intueri: piorum et impiorum habere rationem, *Cic. de Leg. Lib. II.*

to be put by them between Good and Evil Men, not the *Sanction* of a Law (which no Legislator ever did) but the *Proœmium* of the Law. He calls indeed these (f) *Opinions* *USEFUL*, *since so many Things are confirmed and settled by Oaths*; and he observes, that *the Fear of Divine Punishments has restrained many from acting wickedly*. But he never looked upon these *Opinions* as the *Sanctions* of his Laws; but as *Principles* which he would have the People fully persuaded of, as highly *useful* to make them good and just. No *Argument*, or *Reason* for obeying a Law, is the *Sanction* of a Law, but only such *Penalty* or *Reward* as is annexed to the Law to encourage *Obedience* to it, and which the Legislator can put in *Execution*.

You will tell me perhaps, that *Cicero*, speaking particularly of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, mentions *Plato*, as (g) *imitating them*, and thinking *it to be the Business of a Law to persuade something, and not to do*

(f) *Utiles esse autem has Opiniones quis neget, cum intelligat quam multa firmentur Jurejurando,—quam multos divini supplicii metus a scelere revocarit.—Habes Legis Proœmium; sic enim hoc appellat Plato. ibid.*

(g) *Quos imitatus Plato, hoc quoque Legis putavit esse, persuadere aliquid, non omnia vi ac minis cōgere. ibid.*

every Thing by Force and Threats. He does so: And if persuasive Arguments are put into a Body of *Utopian*, or other, Laws, no great Harm is done. But what Part of a Law is *Persuasion*? What Part of it is Argument and Reasoning? Is that, in any Sense, the *Sanction* of it? No. Mr. *Warburton* has in this very Section, where he is recommending *Zaleucus's* Preface as an *admirable Remain*; He, I say, has made use of another Term, I believe less common among Legislators than even *Persuasion*.---
 " *To the common run, says he, of more in-*
 " *tractable and perverse Spirits, He [Zaleu-*
 " *cus] preaches up the Doctrine of future*
 " *Rewards and Punishments.*" p. 128. Is *preaching up* a Doctrine the same as making it the *Grand Sanction* of a Law?

But where is it that *Zaleucus* "preaches
 " *up a future State of Rewards and Punish-*
 " *ments to the common Run of intractable*
 " *and perverse Spirits?"* What he says to them is, *That they should keep in their Minds the Thought of the Gods*, as existing and sending Punishments on the wicked: Not in a *future State*, as I have observed, but at *present*; not in the other World, but in this.

He

He therefore never made either a Providence in *its full Extent*, the *Sanction* of his Laws ; nor did he *preface* his Laws with it in *its full Extent* ; and therefore we are disappointed in the Proof of the very first Thing that is necessary to Mr. *Warburton's* Demonstration.

But perhaps Mr. *Warburton* means by the Word *Sanction*, whatever in general may work on the Hopes or Fears of Men to engage them to observe a Law. If therefore the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments will most effectually work upon Mens Passions, and make them observe the Law,--This may be called the grand Sanction of the Law. Be it so. " The Step
 " then which the Legislators took to propagate Religion was, by making the Doctrine of a Providence, with which in *its full Extent* they prefaced and introduced
 " their Laws, the grand Sanction of their
 " Institutions."

I would observe, 1. That Mr. *Warburton* must mean that ALL the Legislators, *Moses* excepted, did so. Now that it was not customary for the Old Legislators in general, to *preface* their Laws with any Thing about the

the

the Gods, or a Providence; taking this in *its full Extent*, or not, seems plain enough from what *Cicero* has said. He mentions *Plato*, and the Two whom *Plato* follow'd, *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, who prefaced their Laws with Arguments to move People to believe, that all Things were governed by the Gods. Had this been customary to ALL Legislators, *Cicero* would not have mentioned these *Three*, and only these, whose Method He approved; but He would have used some universal Expression, that would have implied that ALL were wont to make the Divine Providence the Foundation of their Laws. He approved therefore this Method rather than that of Others, who wrote Books of *Laws* or *Politics* without taking any Notice at all of the Existence of the Gods, or of a Providence: He approved, I say, *Plato's*, *Zaleucus's* and *Charondas's* Method of Legislation, who began with inculcating a Providence, rather than that of some others, who take Notice of the Gods, as it were only by Accident in their Laws.

It does not then appear that ALL the Old Legislators did inculcate the Doctrine of
a Pro-

a Providence, whether in its full Extent or not, in order to induce their Subjects to observe their Laws. It does not appear that this was their constant, uniform, *universal* Method; rather, that it was peculiar to *some* only to use this Method. But then if ALL did not do it, how will the Divine Legation of *Moses* be demonstrated from HIS *Omission* of the *Doctrine of a future State*, more than the Divine Legation of others, who have omitted it as well as He?

I have already consider'd the Proœmium to *Zaleucus's* Laws, and I think it may be fairly asked, where is it that He mentions a *future State*? Or what Words will prove, that he taught a *future* State of Rewards and Punishments? If the Words, which Mr. *Warburton* pitches upon, *viz.* What "He
 " *preached up* to those of a more intractable
 " and perverse Turn of Mind," proves, that He taught or inculcated the Doctrine of Providence in *its full Extent*; then I am not without Hopes of demonstrating (for now I propose to demonstrate on such Data) that *Moses* made a future State of Rewards and Punishments the Sanction of his Laws, exactly

actly in the same manner as *Zaleucus* did.
Let us compare them.

Moses speaks of God not only as *existing*, and every where inculcates that Doctrine, but he speaks of him as *the righteous Judge of all the Earth*, as *the God of the Spirits of all Flesh*. Gen. xviii. 25. Num. xxvii. 16. xvi. 22. And he bids the *Israelites* fear *this glorious and fearful Name, the Lord thy God*. Deut. xxviii. 58. When God is called by *Moses*, *the God of the Spirits of all Flesh*, in the lowest Sense it signifies, that He is the *Lord of the Life of all*; He in *whose Hand is the Soul of every living Thing, and the Breath of all Mankind*, as it is expressed, *Job* xii. 10. Do not these Passages of *Moses* contain at least as much as *Zaleucus's* do, where he bids wicked Men *remember the Gods*, and think upon their Nature? *Moses* is not content with such low, lifeless Language as *Zaleucus* is, but he says with the utmost Energy,---*Behold the Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens is the Lord thy God's, the Earth also, and all that therein is.*--*Be no more stiff-necked; for the Lord your God is God of Gods and Lord of Lords, a great God, a mighty and a terrible, which regard-*

eth not Persons, nor taketh Reward. He doth execute the Judgment of the Fatherless and the Widow. Deut. x. Zaleucus tells the wicked Man, that he should think of the Judgments which the Gods send on such. And has not Moses urged this Topic in the strongest manner through several whole Chapters? Is a future State proved from Zaleucus's mentioning the Hour of Death? And does not Moses mention the Wish to die the Death of the Righteous? Num. xxiii. 10. Or when Judgments in general are mentioned by the one, may not they be interpreted by the Judgments which the other has threatened, the terriblest Evils that could happen to Mankind, till they were destroyed, and perish because of the Wickedness of their Doings?

I cannot therefore but conclude, that whatever are the Words in *Zaleucus*, from which Mr. *Warburton* concludes, that He made a future State of Rewards and Punishments the Sanction of his Laws, similar Expressions in *Moses*, or if Occasion be, much stronger, will prove that *Moses* likewise did the same. The Truth is, none of the Legislators of Old ever made the
Doctrinē

Doctrine of a future State the *Sanction* of their Laws more than *Moses* did : and consequently all that is said on this Subject about *Sanctions*, is either a new undefined Language of Mr. *Warburton*, or else it is pure Mistake and Confusion.

Be it then granted, that “ Religion, “ which teaches an over-ruling Providence “ of Good Men, and the Punisher of ill, “ is necessary to Society.” *Moses* has “ taught an over-ruling Providence, and a “ Religion,” as well as *Zaleucus*, and has made it the *Sanction* of his Laws as much as *Zaleucus* ; and has extended his Notion of Providence as far as *Zaleucus* has done : And if so, he has established a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as much as *Zaleucus* has. But to proceed.

Charondas is mentioned by *Cicero*, as well as *Zaleucus* : And one may wonder that the *Proœmium* to his Laws is not expressly cited by Mr. *Warburton*, as well as *Zaleucus's* *Proœmium* was. The One is full as much to the Purpose as the Other ; but neither of them will prove, that a Providence *in its full Extent* was either the

Sanction of, or contained in the *Preface* to, their Laws.

In *Charondas's* Proœmium, there are these *Instructions*: That (*b*) in all *Consultation* and *Action* Men ought to begin with the Gods: for it is best to believe, that God is the Cause of all these Things: That you ought to abstain from Evil Actions, especially to shew your *Concord* and *Agreement* with God; for God has no *Communion* with any wicked Men.--- Let none behave impudently, but let every one behave with *Modesty*, as by that Means likely to have God propitious, and to obtain *Security*: for no wicked Man is beloved by God.--- You ought to shew to *Governors* the same *Benevolence* as you do to your *Parents*, obeying them, and paying them *Respect*. He that is otherwise disposed will suffer *Punishment* from the tutelar Demons of the State,

(b) Τὰς βελομένους καὶ πρατίνους τι δὴ Θεῶν ἀρχεῖται χρῆ. Τὸ γὰρ ἀριστον ὥσπερ ἡ πατριμία πατὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἡμεν αἰτίον πάντων τέλων. Ἐτι δὲ φαῦλων πράξεων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὰν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ζυμβελίαν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὁδὸν Θεὸν κοινωνεῖν. — Μηδὲς ἔσω ἀναδῆς, ἀλλὰ σαφρονεῖτω ἕκαστος, ὡς τέλω τευξόμενος Θεὸν ἵλεων καὶ σωφειάν. Οὐδὲς γὰρ κακὸς θεοφιλὴς. — Χρῆ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχούσας εὐνοίαν διατυλάττειν, καθάπερ πατρίκην, ὑπαυδούνας καὶ σεβομένους. Ὡς ὁ μὴ διανοούμενος οὕτω τίσει δίκην κακῆς βελῆς δαίμοσιν ἐσιόχοις. Ἀρχούσας γὰρ ἐσιεχῆσι πόλεως καὶ πολιτῶν σωφειάς. — Ἐσω μέγιστα ἀδικήματα, Θεὸν καταρᾶνσις, &c.

for

for his wicked Intention or Will. For these Demons are the Governors and Patrons of the City, and of the Safety of the Citizens. -- Let Contempt of the Gods be deem'd the greatest Wickedness.--- Thus far Charondas.

The Question here is, how far *Charondas* made a *future State* the *Sanction* of his Laws: Or how much he taught the Doctrine of *Providence in its full Extent* in this *Proœmium*? And I answer, not at all. He commands indeed, that all his People should learn what he calls these *Prefaces*, προήμια; but it is evident here is no mention of a *future State* in them. Nay, the Punishments, which the *Patron Demons* of the State were to inflict for any Crimes, were all *Temporal*, and *present*, such as affected the σωτηρία, the *Safety* or *Security* of the State. Thus *e. g.* One of his Laws is (*i*) *That a Wife ought to be chaste, and not to admit any unlawful Converse with other Men.* Why? Not that Adultery would be punished in a *future State*, but to *prevent the Anger of the Demons, who turn'd People out of*

(i) Γυναῖκα σωφρονεῖν χρὴ, καὶ μὴ περισδέχεται συνουσίαν ἀτεβῇ παρ' ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἀπανλώσεως νεμέσεως παρὰ δαιμόνων καὶ ἐξοικιστῶν καὶ ἐχθροποιῶν. Stobæ. Ser. 42.

their Houses, and caused Enmities and Hatred. These avenging Demons were ἐσιῶχοι, *Lares, Household Gods*, and punished as such; and all the Punishment he speaks of as coming from them was *temporal*, and such as affected σώμειαν, the *Safety of the Body politic*, or particular Persons.

Here we see what is most probably the Meaning of ἀλάστορας δαίμονας, *the Demons that do not forget what is done by any Body*, in *Zaleucus*. They were the same as the ἐσιῶχοι, *the Household Gods of Charondas*; and these punished (k) by turning People out of their Houses, by occasioning Quarrels, Disputes, Hatred, and Aversion. So too, what *Zaleucus* calls, νημεσώνων Θεῶν, *Charondas* expresses by ἀπαρλώσεως νημέσεως παρὰ δαιμόνων, *Vengeance falling upon Men from those tutelar Gods*. And what this Vengeance consisted in, being expressly said to be by turning People out of Doors, and creating Hatred, it is plain here is nothing relating to a future State in this Legislator's Preface.

Let us next examine what *Cicero* has said in the Proœmium to his Books of Laws:

(k) Ἐξοικισῶν καὶ ἐχθροποιῶν. *ibid.*

He wrote for an *Utopian Commonwealth*; the Others whom he imitated, and made his Patterns, wrote Laws for real States. If therefore he goes no further than they did, as to the Point now in Question, we may be sure, that it was not usual for the Legislators to make the Doctrine of a Providence in *its full Extent*, the Sanction of their Laws.

Cicero's Proœmium was thus, (1) " Let
" the Citizens first of all be firmly per-
" suaded, that the Gods are Lords and
" Governors of all Things; that whatever
" is done is directed by their Power,---that
" they know what every one does,--- and
" accordingly they make a *Distinction be-*
" *tween Good and Evil Men.* Minds tho-
" roughly imbued with these Things, will

(1) Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, Dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos, eaque quæ geruntur, eorum geri vi, ditione ac numine.—Et qualis quisque sit, quid agat intueri, piorumque et impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sane abhorrebunt ab utili et a vera sententia.—Utiles esse autem has Opiniones, quis neget, cum intelligat, quam multa firmentur jurejurando; quantæ salutis sint fœderum religiones; quam multos divini supplicii metus a scelere revocarit; quàmque sancta sit societas civium inter ipsos; Diis immortalibus interpositis tum iudicibus tum testibus? Habetur Legis Proœmium.
De Leg. ii.

“ scarce ever avoid doing what is truly
 “ useful, and Right in itself.--- That these
 “ Opinions are *useful*, who can deny, when
 “ he considers how *many Things are con-*
 “ *firmed by the Religion of Oaths*; and how
 “ much Security the *Sacredness of Treaties*
 “ affords; How many the *Fear of divine*
 “ *Punishment* does keep from *Wickedness*;
 “ And how firm must the Society and
 “ Friendship of Citizens be betwixt one
 “ another, when the Gods are conceived
 “ not only to interpose themselves, but to
 “ be Witnesses of what is done. You have
 “ here the *Proæmium* of the Law.”---

The *Laws* themselves have nothing to
 the Purpose, unless it be contained (*m*) in the
Manner in which he orders Men to *approach*
the Gods, or in the Declaration, that those,
 who approach the Gods without Piety, *God*
himself will punish.

Which now of these *Words*, or what
Proposition contained in them, teaches the
 Doctrine of a Providence *in its full Extent*,
 more than the Law of *Moses* does? The
 Usefulness of the Notion of a Providence to

(*m*) Ad Divos adeunto casté; pietatem adhibento; —qui
 fecus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit. *ibid.*

Society is not the Point in Question: *Moses* has urged the sacred Tie of *Oaths*, and the *Fear of God*, and the Dread of his *Punishments*, in as strong Terms as *Cicero*, or any Legislator whatever. Has *Cicero* said, *Let those who approach the Gods be pure and undefiled: Let them be pious: God himself will punish the Transgressor?* *Moses* has said the same Things as strongly, nay more so, and therefore should be understood in the same Manner at least, and in the same Extent, as *Cicero*: --- *Ye shall be Holy, for I am Holy. Lev. xi. 44. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thine Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy Might. Deut. vi. 5. The Lord your God is God of Gods,--- mighty and terrible, serve him. Deut. x. 17. 20.* Does *Cicero* speak of the Ties of Citizens to one another, and the Usefulness of Religion to band them together, and make them love one another? *Moses* has done the same by express Law, enjoining them to *love their Neighbour as themselves, Lev. xix. 18.* and not to treat one another with Rigor for this Reason, *I am the Lord your God, Lev. xxv. 43, 48.* Does *Cicero* speak of God as being the Judge, as well as Witness of human Actions?

Actions? How frequently does *Moses* speak of God, as the *Judge* of all the Earth; as the *Judge* betwixt one and another; as *looking on* and *judging*? And if there be any Stress to be laid upon the other Word, *Witness*, God is expressly said to be Witness, and appealed to under that Character, *Gen. xxxi. 50.*

Take now the Proœmium of *Zaleucus*, of *Charondas*, or of *Tully*, and whatever Words *in them* are supposed to contain the Doctrine of a Providence *in its full Extent*, the same Words in *Moses* (especially when they are much stronger) must be allowed to contain the same Doctrine, and in the same *Extent*. And if Mr. *Warburton* will call such Doctrine the *Sanction* of *Zaleucus's*, or *Charondas's*, or *Tully's* Laws (let that Word signify what he pleases) it must or ought to signify the same Thing in Regard to *Moses's* Law. So that hitherto *Moses* and the other old Legislators are at least upon a *Par*, since no Difference can be produced *in these Respects*, between them. It will ever be asked,--- How does it appear, that *Charondas*, *e. g.* made the Doctrine of a Providence *in its full Extent*, the Sanction of his

his Laws? If the Answer be,--- He mentions the Duty of *Beginning every Action with the Gods*; that a *Contempt of them is the highest Crime*; that they are *the Cause of all Things*; that *God has no Communion with wicked Men*.--- These Opinions, as Cicero well says, are USEFUL to the State: But do they imply a Providence *in its full Extent*, or only a Providence in general? Do they relate to what will happen to Men *after Death*; or only to what concerns the *σωτηρία*, the *Safety and Security* of the State? Let the Reader judge. It is certain, that there is not a Word in the *Proœmium* to his Laws, nor in that of *Zaleucus*, or of *Tully* who imitated them, where a *future State* is expressly mentioned, or a Providence *in its full Extent*; and there are several which confine the *Punishments* of the *Gods* or *Dæmons*, to *present Evils*. So that hitherto no Circumstance, no Fact, is produced by Mr. *Warburton*, which proves a Difference betwixt *Moses*, and all other *Legislators*; at least none sufficient to make the Foundation of a Demonstration.

My first Objection then to Mr. *Warburton's* Scheme is, That no one old Legislator,
that

that ever made Laws for the Government of any People, or that wrote even for an *Utopian Commonwealth*, ever made a *future State* the *Sanction* of his Laws. My second is, that from whatever Words Mr. *Warburton* attempts to prove, that *Zaleucus* or *Charondas*, in particular, mentioned a *future State*, or a *Providence in its full Extent*, by the very same it may be proved, that *Moses* has done the same. When therefore He attempts to *demonstrate* (for nothing short of *Demonstration* will content him) *the divine Legation of Moses by the Medium of no future State of Reward and Punishment in the Mosaic Dispensation*, He must equally demonstrate the *divine Legation of Zaleucus and Charondas, and Cicero*; since none of them, nor indeed any one else of the old Legislators ever made a *Providence in its full Extent*, or a *future State of Rewards and Punishments*, the *Sanction* of their Laws. The most they did was, to make the *Doctrine of Providence*, as all Things were directed and governed by it, as all Things were taken Notice of by the Gods, as they were the Avengers of wicked Actions, some Part of the *Prooemium* or *Preamble*

amble to their Laws ; or perhaps inserted this Notion into the Laws themselves : But how far they extended their Notion of Providence, is no where said.

But Mr. *Warburton* has “ beg’d the
 “ Reader always to have in Mind, that
 “ when in the Sequel of his Discourse, he
 “ meets with antient Testimonies for the
 “ Necessity of *Religion* to Society, he may
 “ be confident, that the Doctrine of a fu-
 “ ture State of Rewards and Punishments,
 “ was the chief Idea included in that Term.”
 p. 89. 3d Ed. 87. Let us comply with
 this Request, and take it for granted, that
 the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards
 and Punishments is included in, or “ must
 “ be principally meant” by the Word *Re-
 ligion*. (Though this is a Point which Mr.
Warburton ought particularly to have proved,
 because he has labour’d to shew, that by the
Jewish Legislator these two Ideas were in
 Fact kept distinct :) But let it be granted him
 for the present. Now, if the chief Idea
 that is included in the Term, *Religion*, be a
 future State of Rewards and Punishments,
 and if it be a Doctrine *Essential to Religion*
in general; if it be the very Fundamental of
 Fundamentals,

Fundamentals, as he assures us in the Dedication of the second Volume, p. xxiii. then the *Jews* never had any *Religion* at all, because they wanted what was *essential* to Religion in general ; nay, what was the very Fundamental of Fundamentals. *Moses* therefore gave that People no *Religion* at all : But all the Heathen World had Religion, founded on and supported by the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments. So much happier were the Heathens, than those to whom *Moses* was sent with a divine Legation.

Mr. *Warburton* has laid down this as an Universal Truth, “ That the People throughout the whole Earth, universally believed a future State of Rewards and Punishments properly so called.” Vol. I. p. 306. third Edition, p. 332. Be this allowed ; for I cannot but think it to be true. Now the Points he was to prove are, *First*, That there is a Difference between the *Jews*, and all the rest of Mankind ; or that the *Jews* did not believe what all the World besides *universally* did believe. And *Secondly*, that there is a Difference betwixt the Lawgiver of the *Jews* and *Zalmucis*, and all other Lawgivers

Lawgivers whatever, in that *Moses* did *not*, and all other Lawgivers *did*, make the Doctrine of a Providence *in its full Extent*, or a *future* State of Rewards and Punishments, either the *Preface* to, or the *Sanction* of their Laws. I own, I cannot but think, from what I have yet seen, that *Moses* may be proved to have made a future State as much the *Sanction* of his Laws, as any other Old Legislator did; and that all must be equally condemned, or equally acquitted by this Writer. Mr. *Warburton* ought not to suppose, that the *Jews* alone did not believe a Doctrine which all the World besides is acknowledged universally to have believed, “even before Civil Policy was instituted among Mankind.” p. 91, or 92. He owns too, that “*Moses* did not disbelieve a future State.” Vol. II. p. 449, 479. Say then that *Moses* believed a future State; and say that *Zaleucus* did so: The *Subjects* too of both equally believed it, unless something very express can be produced to the contrary. Now *Moses* has at least as much of a future State in his Laws, as *Zaleucus* or *Charondas* has in either of theirs. If *Moses* has not mentioned it expressly,
neither

neither has *Zaleucus* or *Charondas*. Or if you say that these last have mentioned it, I shall say that *Moses* has as much ; nay more, as will appear presently. Nor is it enough in Mr. *Warburton* to shew, that *Moses* never mentions a *future State*, for it may be shewn that neither have *Zaleucus*, nor the other Legislators here cited ; and if any *one* of them has omitted to do it, the Demonstration taken from the mere *Omission* of a future State, design'd in Favour of a *Divine Legation*, will equally hold good for such other Legislator. Should Mr. *Warburton* say, that those other Legislators *suppose* a future State as the Foundation and Support of Religion : I shall say the same of *Moses*. In Truth, it was a Doctrine universally received and believed by *Jews* as well as *Gentiles* : and therefore all the Old Legislators established their respective *National Religions* upon Principles already allowed and admitted ; and therefore had no Necessity to mention that Notion particularly, either as the *Sanction* of their Laws, or in any other Manner. And that this was the Truth in Relation to *Moses* in particular will be seen presently.

Mr.

Mr. *Warburton* has told us, that future Rewards and Punishments were not only *not the Sanction of the Mosaic Dispensation, but were not taught in it at all: and that in Consequence of this Omission*, the PEOPLE had not *this Doctrine for many Ages.* Vol. II. p. 446.

This is a *Consequence*, which Mr. *Warburton* is much too hasty in Drawing. Suppose I should argue in the very same manner, --- Future Rewards and Punishments were not the *Sanction of Zaleucus's or Charondas's Institutions*: nay "were not taught in them *at all.*" Therefore, "in Consequence of the *Omission*," the *Locrians* and the *Crotoniates* had not this Doctrine. They must have been without this Doctrine, as well as the *Jews*, if being without it is the *Consequence* of their Legislators not making it the *Sanction* of their Laws. If therefore Both these People had this Notion (as Mr. *Warburton* assures us, all had it *universally* except the *Jews*) then by the same Way by which these People came by it, the *Jews* might have had it, notwithstanding the *Omission* of their Legislator.

E

But

But I am now enquiring into a Fact.
 “ The People of the *Jews* had not this
 “ Doctrine for many Ages.” How is this
 proved? Mr. *Warburton* grants, “ That
 “ *Moses* did *not disbelieve* a future State of
 “ Rewards and Punishments.” Vol. II.
 p. 479. and hence he draws this Consequence;
 “ From my holding that *Moses* did
 “ *not disbelieve* a future State, it follows,
 “ that all such Texts of Scripture as are
 “ brought to prove, that the *antient Jews*
 “ *believed the Soul survived the Body* are no-
 “ thing at all to the Purpose; but do, on
 “ the contrary, greatly support my Opinion.”
ibid. Nay, He tells us, that “ *Moses well*
 “ *understood it*”. p. 449. Elsewhere we are
 told, “ That throughout all Antiquity we
 “ do not find any civilized Country where
 “ the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards
 “ and Punishments was not of *National*
 “ *Belief*.” Vol. I. p. 88.

The *Jews* then, Descendants of some
 who had this “ *National Belief*,” are ac-
 knowledged “ *to believe the Soul survived the*
 “ *Body*,” both here and p. 556. Mr. *War-*
burton grants too, that “ *Moses* being ne-
 cessitated to mention *Enoch’s Translation*,
 “ it

“ it could not be but that a *separate Existence*
 “ might be infer’d, how obscurely soever the
 “ Story was deliver’d.” There is then no
 Occasion to produce Instances from *Moses*,
 which shew very clearly, that the *Jews* did
 believe the Existence and Life of the Soul
 after its Departure hence. However I will
 add one Passage, which Mr. *Warburton* has
 overlook’d, and that is the Prohibition in
 the Law to consult *Necromancers*, or Per-
 sons that pretended to advise with the *Dead*,
 which supposes at least a *popular* Notion pre-
 vailing, that the Soul survived the Body;
 and not only survived the Body, and con-
 tinued in mere Existence, but retained Con-
 sciousness and Thought, and knew what
 was doing and to be done on Earth. And
 so popular was this Notion, as to have a
 Law directed against such Practices. Since
Moses therefore *did not disbelieve*, nay, *well*
understood the Doctrine of a future State of
 Rewards and Punishments; and the People
believed, that *the Soul survived the Body*, in
 the Manner I have mention’d: What Rea-
 son is there to think, that they did not *be-*
lieve a future State of Rewards and Punish-
 ments, which their Forefathers, and their

Guide and Legislator, and all the World besides *believed*?

I do not apprehend, that the *People* of the *Jews*, or any other Nation, entered into the Philosophical Notion of the Souls returning into God, or into the τὸ ἔν, or τὸ παῖ, or whatever Whims much later Ages than what we are now speaking of, produced. Nor can such a Notion be reconciled to the *Necromancy* practised amongst them. They supposed therefore separate Souls, separately existing, capable of being *call'd out*, and *consulted*, as *knowing* more than we Mortals know. If they proceeded thus far, it is impossible to prove the Negative, that they did not believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments, unless positive, very clear Evidence could be produced to the contrary.

The Conduct of the Legislators in Relation to their “making the Doctrine of a
“ Providence, with which in its full Ex-
“ tent they *prefaced* and introduced their
“ Laws, the *grand Sanction* of their Insti-
“ tutions,” has been sufficiently consider'd :
And if the Remarks I have made be just,
the Consequence is plain. Before I have
done with the *Legislators*, it will be proper
to

to consider the next Step which they took, which was to "affirm and establish the general Doctrine of a Providence, which they had delivered in their *Laws*, by a very particular and popular Method of inculcating the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments." p. 133. or 3d Edit. p. 131.

The Attempt in the Third Section was to shew, that the *Legislators* made the Doctrine of a Providence in *its full Extent*, either the Preface to, or the grand Sanction of their *Laws*. Supposing this; then, That Doctrine must have been in *every* Legislator's Institutes, *Moses's* excepted. The Design of the *Fourth* Section is to shew, that "the Nature and End of the Mysteries were all the same, to *teach the Doctrine of a future State.*" p. 133. THE LEGISLATOR then taught, one would imagine, one and the same Doctrine, both in his *Laws*, and in the *Mysteries*; and the only Difference was, in the one it was taught *openly*; in the other, under the *Seal of Secrecy*. One cannot but think too, that, *The Legislator*, is of the same Extent in Both these Sections, and means ALL LEGISLATORS; and therefore that ALL took both these Steps, That of their *Laws*, and That of the *Mysteries*, to inculcate a future

ture State of Rewards and Punishments,

Now that *All* Legislators did not so much as meddle with the *Mysteries*, or concern themselves about any such *particular Methods* of inculcating a future State, as the *Mysteries* taught, is indisputable. They had not the *Mysteries*, *e. g.* at *Rome*, in the Days of *Romulus* or *Numa*; nor probably till after, (if Mr. *Warburton* translates *Sacrificulus et vates* right, which I much doubt) till after that a "little Priest and Southsayer" brought them into *Etruria*. p. 172.

But let us suppose that by THE LEGISLATOR is only meant SOME Legislators; what was their Method of Proceeding? It was, it seems, to "affirm a certain *general* Doctrine of a Providence, and a future State, which they had "deliver'd in their *Laws*." But this does not seem to be the Case. The *Mysteries* were not invented to affirm the GENERAL Doctrine of a Providence, but to explain a *particular* Branch of it: It was not to teach, or affirm, or establish a Doctrine, which was already, by Supposition, in the *Laws*; but it was to explain the PARTICULAR Doctrine of a Providence, as extending to Punishments or Rewards in a future Life. The *Mysteries* would have been in a great Measure useless,

less, if the Legislator made the Doctrine of a Providence in its full Extent public and open in his *Laws*. And since Mr. *Warburton* has proved the Usefulness of the Mysteries beyond all Doubt, it cannot be imagined, that the Legislator should put into his *Laws*, which were open and common to all, a Doctrine which was to be taught under the *religious Seal of Secrecy*. This is my First Difficulty.

My *Second* is This: The Legislator *instituted* the Mysteries; and He tells us, "the Mysteries were originally *invented* by *Legislators*." p. 177, or 183.

Clemens Alexandrinus on the contrary expressly assures us, that the Mysteries were invented by *Philosophers*. I shall cite the Passage, when I come to treat of the double Doctrine. But let us here admit them to be not *Philosophers*, but *Legislators*. Mr. *Warburton* then observes, "The Sages, who brought them out of *Egypt*, and propagated them in *Asia*, in *Greece*, and *Britain*, were ALL Kings or Lawgivers." *ibid.* Now this is not so certain; unless He will set up in *Greece* a Race of *Women Law-*

givers. For *Herodotus* tells us, (n) that *Danaus's Daughters brought the Mysteries of Ceres out of Egypt, and taught them to the Pelasgian Women in Peloponnesus.* And these *Pelasgian Women* kept them up, and propagated them, till the *Dorians* drove the *Pelasgi* out of *Peloponnesus*; and then they were all lost except among the *Arcadians.*

Again; Who was it that *introduced* or *propagated* the Mysteries in *Italy*? Was it not, as *Livy* tells us, a mean, pitiful (o) *Greek, Sacrificulus et vates*, a Priest and Soothsayer. Did not he propagate the Mysteries first in *Etruria*; and this to a few only at first, which afterwards by the Allurements of Drinking and other Pleasures spread among the People? Was not the Progress of these Mysteries to *Rome* the Effect of Private Persons PROPAGATING them without the Knowledge or Privity of the *Legislator*?

(n) Αἱ Δαναὺς θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγεῖσαι, καὶ διδάσασαι τὰς Πελασγίτιδας γυναῖκας. Herod. l. 2. c. 171.

(o) Græcus ignobilis in Hetruriam primum venit,—Sacrificulus et vates,—Initia erant, quæ primo paucis tradita sunt: deinde vulgari cæpta per viros, mulieresque. Additæ voluptates Religioni vini et epularum quo plurimum animi illicerentur. Liv. l. xxxix.

3. Let us allow that they were *all Kings or Legislators* that *propagated* these Mysteries; and allow too, that those Legislators, who propagated the Mysteries, did by them inculcate the Belief of a future State; yet still this is far from proving that this was the Practice of ALL Legislators? What if some *Legislator*, or Legislators, *invented* the Mysteries in *Egypt*; and likewise that *some* of the same Sort of Men propagated them in *Asia*, and other Parts? There are certainly other Legislators, such as *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, who have not spoken one Word about either the *secret* Way of teaching a future State by the *Mysteries*, or the *open* Way of making it the *Sanction* of their *Laws*? Suppose now that *Moses* has not said a Word about a future State in *his* Law, He is upon a Par with all *such* Legislators as those; and their Divine Legation from the Omission of a future State of Rewards and Punishments must stand or fall together.

Indeed were a Comparison to be made betwixt *Moses* and the *Legislators*, who invented, or propagated, the *Mysteries*, it must stand thus: *Moses* *openly* and clearly declared, and in *his* *Law* avowed the Doctrine of the *Unity*; nor could any *Mysteries* detect

detect *Polytheism*, or shew the Follies and Falshood of it, so expressly, or more so, than *he* did : He, as well as all Others, equally omitted the Doctrine of a *future State of Rewards and Punishments* in his Laws, which were design'd for the Government of the State : But then He *openly* taught his Subjects in his Laws, what the other Legislators never taught in their Laws ; viz. the most important Doctrine of the *Unity*, and the Folly of *Polytheism*. It was an universally believ'd Notion, that there was a future State of Rewards and Punishments ; and therefore neither He, nor the Legislators that invented the *Mysteries*, deliver'd in their LAWS that Doctrine : or if the other Legislators had, they would have had not much Occasion for that Part of the *Mysteries*, where the same Doctrine was taught in the *utmost Secrecy*. And from the Invention of the *Mysteries* this Conclusion may be drawn, that the Legislators never made a future State the Sanction of their Laws, nor prefaced their Institutions with the Doctrine of a *Providence in its full Extent*.

But after all, who are the Persons that Mr. *Warburton* here means by THE
LEGISLATOR ?

LEGISLATOR? It seems to be no more than SOME LEGISLATOR; *Somebody*, upon proper Occasion, and at a proper Time (no Body knows who or when) invented the *Mysteries*. The natural Way of comparing the Conduct of *Moses* and this Legislator seems to be this: The Doctrine of a future State (when I say a *future State*, I mean, that of Rewards and Punishments after the Soul is gone out of this Body) This Doctrine was *universally* believed. Mr. *Warburton* acknowledges it to be universally believed by all *except the Jews*; and I maintain that *They*, as well as the Heathen World, *believed* it; and there are Passages in the Law of *Moses*, which plainly enough intimate an Opinion received and *believed*, that the Souls of Men existed after their Departure hence; more plain and more express than any that can be produced from any Legislators, which Mr. *Warburton* has named to prove such a Belief amongst *their* Subjects. This Doctrine was universally believed. Now *Moses*, as a *Legislator*, was to lay down Laws to the *Jews*, and he was to incorporate their *National Religion* into their Civil Law. This was done, not by inculcating what was universally

versally received and believed to be true by them ; but by inculcating such Points as were to make the *National Religion* of the *Jews*. And in this he did exactly what those other Legislators did : What was *useful* to the State, he admitted into the Body of his LAWS ; and *so far* as it was useful to the State : But further than That, neither He nor *Zaleucus* concerned themselves.

Whether this be a sufficient Reason or not for *Moses's* not insisting on, and inculcating a future State of Rewards and Punishments more particularly, I submit to you. It is enough for my Purpose to have shewn, that He made it as much the *Grand Sanction* of HIS LAWS, and has *affirmed* it as much as the Inventors of the *Mysteries* did in *their* LAWS ; or as Others did, who did not concern themselves with the *Mysteries* at all. The Consequence is so plain, that I need not repeat it, *viz.* If a *Divine Legation* can be proved by the *Medium of no future State of Rewards and Punishments* mentioned in a Body of *Laws*, the Divine Legation of *all* those, who have in their *Laws* never mentioned such a State, will be equally demonstrated.

Let

Let us now look back, if you please, upon what Mr. *Warburton* undertook to prove, and review the manner in which he has attempted to prove his Point. The Thing to be first proved was, "that the inculcating
" the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards
" and Punishments is necessary to the Well-
" being of Society." The Proof of this is taken from "the Conduct of *Legislators* and
" Institutors of Civil Society." What now is their Conduct?

1. They "pretended an extraordinary
" Revelation from some God." That many of the Heathen Legislators did this, is certain: But if one may guess at the Ends they proposed by This, it was not for the Sake of *Religion*, but to gain the easier *Reception* of their Institutions; and that the People should not easily throw off what was contrived for their Good. (*p*) No, says Mr. *Warburton*, Those Legislators did not pre-

(*p*) The Scholiast on *Homer*, speaking of *Minos* Ody. τ. says, φασὶ δὲ ἑτέροι, ὡς ταῖς τῶν βασιλέων γνώμας ἡ βασιλῆως πείθονται οἱ ὑποτέταγμένοι· ἀνιόντα ἔν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰδην διὰ ἐννεατίας συνθεῖναι νόμους, καὶ φέροντα διαβεβαιῶνται, ὡς ὑπὸ τῷ Διὶ εἶναι δεδομένοι. Some say that because Subjects do not easily obey the Determinations of Kings, therefore he pretended his Laws were given by *Jupiter*. *Plato* gives this Reason for it, that those Laws were and ought to be looked upon as sacred and unalterable, since they were made by the Gods. De Leg. 1.

tend

tend to extraordinary Revelation, “ for the
 “ Introduction and Reception of their
 “ Laws,” p. 105. Let Mr. *Warburton* rea-
 son as much as he pleases upon this Head,
 he contradicts it all by an exprefs and clear
 Fact, no farther than thirteen Pages off,
 where he cites *Pythagoras*, as “ teaching his
 “ Scholars as the *most efficacious way of estab-*
 “ *lishing Civil Justice*, to propagate the
 “ Opinion of the Gods having an intimate
 “ Intercourse with Mankind,” p. 118.

His next Assertion is, That the Pretence
 of having their Laws from some God or
 Goddess “ was not for *perpetuating* their In-
 “ stitutions.” I admit that it was not de-
 signed by *all* of them to *perpetuate*, or make
 their Institutions *continue for ever* ; and think
 that it was principally that the People should
 pay a *decent regard* to, and not wantonly
 throw off what was designed for their Bene-
 fit. However, if Mr. *Warburton* means,
 that none of These Legislators did do it with
 a Design to *perpetuate* their Laws, He says
 this again at the Expence of a Contradiction,
 since he owns that *Lycurgus* did attempt to
 make his Laws *perpetual*. So that we have
Pythagoras and *Lycurgus* pretending to Inspi-
 ration,

ration, or rather Revelation, for *Civil* Purposes not *Religious* ones: and the Reasons that induced them so to act, *might* naturally induce Others to act for the same Ends.

The *Second* Step of Mr. *Warburton*, is to shew, That the Legislators “made the Doctrine of a Providence, with which in *its full extent* they prefaced their Laws, the *grand Sanction* of their Institutions.” Upon Examination, it appears that not *One* of them, not *Zaleucus*, not *Charondas*, not *Cicero* (the only ones whom he has appeal'd to for this Fact,) has done what he says they *all* did. *Moses* has done it as much as any of them; and yet he attempts to prove that *Moses* has never done it.

The *Third* Step is, “THE Legislator “*established the grand Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, by a very particular and popular Method*” of inculcating the Belief of such a State, *viz.* by the Mysteries. Who now is meant by THE Legislator? Or what is THE Legislator, unless he speaks of A Legislator, Somebody under that particular Circumstance or Quality. Somebody or other contrived the Mysteries in *Egypt*: Some that liked them brought

brought them out of *Egypt* and propagated them. But were These ALL *Legislators* that did so? No. This is contrary to certain Fact. Does he mean, that ALL *Legislators* inculcated the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments? This is contrary to Fact likewise; at least the Fact has not been proved. Does He argue from this Connection, That They ALL taught the Existence of God, --- therefore Religion --- therefore a *future State*; and that this Connection is necessary? If so, then this will be a conclusive Argument that *Moses* likewise taught a future State: If the Connection be *not necessary*, then how will it be proved that the *Other Legislators* taught or inculcated a Future State? If then *Moses* has done exactly the same that *Other Legislators* did, the Demonstration for his Divine Legation from the Medium of no future State, will be equally strong for Them and for Him.

I intended once to have released you here from any further Remarks on the Conduct of the antient Legislators. But I will proceed, and observe, That neither *Triptolemus*, nor *Draco*, nor *Solon*, as far as appears, either *prefaced* their Laws with the Doctrine
of

of a Providence in *its full extent*; nor can any thing which they have said be construed so as to infer that any of them made the Doctrine of a Providence the *Sanction* of their Laws, or the *grand Sanction* of them, more than *Moses* did. The most that any of them did, was, in general Terms, to command a Reverence to the Gods, or to order in what particular manner they should worship them. *e. g.* There were these three Laws of *Trip- tolemus*, the most antient Legislator of the *Athenians*, which *Xenocrates* mentions as remaining at *Eleusis*. Γονεὺς τιμᾶν. Θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν. Ζῶν μὴ σίνεσθαι. *Honour Parents. Pay worship to the Gods, with the Fruits of the Earth. Do not hurt Animals.* *Porphry* has well observed, (*q*) that the two first of these are very just and fitting; for we ought to return Good to our Parents, who have been such Benefactors to us; and to pay our First Fruits to the Gods out of those useful Things which they have given us. Of the third there is some Doubt of its Meaning; and St.

(*q*) Τὸς μὲν ἔν δ' οὐ, καλῶς παραδοθῆναι. Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν γονεῖς, εὐεργέτας ἡμῶν γεγενημένους, ἀντεποιεῖν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται: τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ, ἀφ' ὧν ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν ἀφελίμων εἰς τὸν βίον ἀπαρχὰς ποιῆσθαι. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου διαφορᾷ, τί ποτε διανοῶνται ὁ Τριπτόλεμος παρῆλθεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ζώων. Porph. de Abf. li. iv.

Jerom c. *Jovinian*, l. 2. understands it of not (r) *eating Flesh*. Now, is this Mode of Worship, express'd in the Manner that This is by *Triptolemus*, any Sanction, or designed as a *Sanction* to his Laws? Or can you perceive in these Words any Thing about a Providence in its *full Extent*? *Solon* does not seem to have done so much as *Triptolemus* or *Draco* did: We know of no *Introduction* to his Laws, about a Providence, whether in its *full Extent* or not: And Mr. *Warburton* only tells us, that He *provided for the due and regular Celebration of the Mysteries*, p. 107. When *Solon* had made his Laws, (s) *all Draco's Laws* ceased to be observed, *except only what related to Murder*; as *Ælian* assures us: and consequently, if *Draco* did make a Law to *honour the Gods* in such a particular Manner, and declared it to be *perpetual*, *αἰώνιος*, yet at this Time it ceased to be in Use.

But *Solon* provided for the *regular Celebration of the Mysteries*. Granting this:

(r) Xenocrates Philosophus de Triptolemi legibus apud Athenienses tria tantum præcepta in templo Eleusinae residere scribit: Honorandos Parentes; venerandos Deos; carnibus non vescendum. Hieron. adv. Jovinian. l. 2.

(s) Καὶ τότε ἐπαύσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι χρώμενοι τοῖς Δράκωνος — μόνες δὲ ἐρύλαξαν τὰς ποινὰς αὐτοῦ. *Ælian*. l. viii. c. 10.

What

What is this to the making the Doctrine of a Providence in its full Extent, either a *Preface* to, or the *grand Sanction* of his LAWS? The making a Body of Institutions is one Thing: the Provision for a due and regular Celebration of the Mysteries is another: And how “considerable a Part soever of *Divine Worship* these were,” or of what “Importance soever to the very Essence of Religion,” yet these were not Prefaces to LAWS, nor declared to be *the grand Sanctions* of them.

To go still higher. *Minos* pretended to an Intercourse with *Jupiter*, and he consulted him (t) every *ninth* Year, as *Homer* tells us. This Legislator, designing to correct and amend what was faulty or defective in his Institutions, was wont to retire into a Cave at the End of eight Years, and then pretended there to have had a Conversation with *Jupiter*. The Reason of this Pretence, (u) *Plato* has truly given us; not to procure by the Influence of any Notion of a Providence in *its full Extent*, an Ob-

(t) Ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς διδὸς μεγάλῃ ὁρασίῃ. ^{Μίνως} Hom. Od. τ. 179.

(u) Ὡς πάντα καλῶς κῆνται, θέντων θεῶν. *Plato de legib.* l. 1. p. 635.

servation of the Laws, but that *all Laws were right and good since the Gods gave them.* I would here ask, Was there any *Preface* to his Laws? Or if there was, did it contain the Doctrine of a Providence in its *full Extent*? The Point is not, what any of these Legislators *thought* themselves about a future State: for *Moses* is acknowledged to *believe* such a State, as much as *Minos*, or *Triptolemus*, or *Draco*: But, what did *Minos* make the *Introduction* to, or the *grand Sanction* of his LAWS? It is allowed, that some of the antient Legislators ordered or commanded a Worship or Reverence of the *Gods*: That ALL did even That, is more, I think, than can be proved. However *Moses* has done it vastly more, and more particularly, than any of them ever did, or perhaps than all of them put together. Mr. *Warburton* therefore should not take it for granted, that ALL these Legislators *prefaced* their Institutions with the Doctrine of a Providence in its *full Extent*; and less should he do this in a Demonstration; when he knows, that neither their *Laws*, nor the *Prefaces* to them (if ever they had any) are

are extant, nor has any Body told what they contained.

But let us suppose, that Mr. *Warburton* is able to prove his Assertions to be true of *Triptolemus, Draco, Solon, Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, and many others,--- that all these prefaced their Laws with the Doctrine of a Providence in *its full Extent*; yet before his *Demonstration* will be compleat and satisfactory, He must shew the same of *Zamolxis, Zathraustus, Lycaon*, and ALL the rest of the Tribe of Legislators, whose Names we know, and nothing else. It is an easy Thing to say, that “there never
“ was, in any Age of the World, from
“ the most early Accounts of Time to this
“ present Hour, any civil, polish'd Nation
“ or People, who had a Religion, of which
“ the chief Foundation and Support was not
“ the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards
“ and Punishments.” p. 86. Be it granted: The Question now is,--- Whether ALL Legislators have in their *Laws*, or in their *Prefaces* to them, urged this Doctrine as a Motive to the People to observe their Laws? Have they *All* laid it down as a Principle, that the Gods would punish the refractory

and disobedient, either here or *hereafter*? Have they *All* urged upon the People the Notion of a Providence in its full Extent? No. Mr. *Warburton* has not instanced in *one* that has done it *expressly*. But instead of this, a *Consequence* is drawn from the bare mention of the *Gods*, either in the *Laws* themselves of some, or in the Prefaces of Others; even where the Legislator has expressly confined his Thought to a *present* Interposition of Providence for the *present* *Safety* and *Security* of the People.

But you will say perhaps, that the Connexion stands thus. Wherever there was a *Worship* of the *Gods*, there was a *Religion*: Wherever there was *Religion*, the chief Foundation and Support of that was the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, except only among the *Jewish* People: And therefore if any Legislator commanded the *Worship* of the *Gods*, That was enough to shew, that a Providence in *its full Extent* was made, or taught, as the *grand Sanction* of their Laws.

I am not now enquiring into a Point of *Reason*, but into a Matter of *Fact*: How far the old Legislators did *in Fact* inculcate the

the Notion of a Providence in its full *Extent* in their *Laws*, or in the *Introductions* to them. Now *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, (and for ought that appears to the contrary, all the rest) extended their Notions of a Providence in their *Laws*, or *Prefaces*, only to the *present* Safety of their People. Their avenging Dæmons executed only a *present* Punishment, according to their *Laws*, or the *Preambles* to them; and it is more natural to believe, that the Sanctions of *Laws*, which are the positive Commands or Prohibitions of a temporal Superior, should be such as a temporal Superior could put in Execution. Here therefore Mr. *Warburton* should have been full in his *Proofs*, and not have put his Reader off with a Sentence of Mr. *Bayle*, *That all the Religions of the World, true or false, turn upon this Point, that there is a Judge invisible, who punishes or rewards after this Life, both the internal and external Actions of Men.* p. 87.

My first Remark on these Words of Mr. *Bayle* is, That He makes no *Exception* for the *Jewish* People, as Mr. *Warburton* has.

My second is, That supposing it to be true, that ALL *Religions* turn upon this,

that there is a future State of Rewards and Punishments, yet ALL Legislators may not from thence imagine, that *their* Laws have, or ought to have, the grand Sanction of a future State of Rewards and Punishments to enforce Obedience. And

Thirdly, If some of the Legislators should have made a Providence in its full Extent, the grand Sanction of their Laws; *Others* might not consider a Providence in its full Extent necessary to secure Obedience from their People; but only a Providence extending to Civil Affairs.

When Mr. *Warburton* immediately adds, that Mr. *Bayle*, “thinks, that it was the “*Utility* of that Doctrine, which set the “*Magistrate* upon *inventing* a Religion for “the *State*.” p. 87. I cannot but take Notice, that Mr. *Bayle* has said no such Thing; neither about the *Magistrate*; nor his *inventing* a Religion; nor his inventing it *for the State*; nor its *Utility to the State*. But do you consult his Article of *Spinoza* refer'd to: REM. E. I return to my Subject.

We know more of the old *Roman* Law and Legislators, than we do of any other Nation

Nation of the World, except the *Jews*. The Laws of *Romulus* and *Numa* concerning sacred Things were not a few; and Both of Those Kings thought it right to impress and fix a Notion of *Religion* upon that rude, uncivilized, fierce People. *Romulus* order'd, that no public Business should be done without consulting the *Auspices*; that sacred Affairs should be managed or transacted only by such certain Persons; that no one should give into any fabulous Stories of the Gods; that they should not worship any foreign Deities, *Faunus* excepted, &c. But not a Word appears of a *future State* of Rewards and Punishments, or a Providence in its full Extent in all these Laws; nor did He make any *Preface* of that Kind to them. *Numa*, as much as he concerned himself about *Religious* Matters, did not make any *Introduction* to his Laws about a Providence in its full Extent. He appointed a *Flamen Dialis*, *Martialis*, *Quirinalis*, a *Pontifex maximus*, four *Vestal* Virgins, the *Salii*, and other sacred Persons. But as to the Doctrine of Providence, he left it as it was; and put no *Preface* about it, as far as appears, to his Laws; nor did he

he enforce Obedience to them by denouncing Punishments in a future Life. All that he intended or designed was only to teach the People, that (x) *the Gods took Notice of human Affairs*, and concerned themselves with them at *present*.

If we go on to the Laws of the XII Tables, which were principally taken from the Laws of *Solon*. --- The *eight first* Tables contained the Laws about Private Right, the *Ninth* contained what related to Public Right: The *Tenth* was about *Sacred Right*. In this one might expect to find, if any where, the Doctrine of a Providence made the Sanction of these Laws. But instead of that, I do not so much as find the Word, *Gods*, or *Providence*, or any Thing that implied any Notion of them in all that remains of the XII Tables; unless you can infer any thing from the Word, *Oath*: And let me observe, the *Roman Lawyers* say, (y) *The Punishment of Perjury from the Gods was DESTRUCTION, from Man Ignominy and Disgrace*.

(x) Deos interesse rebus humanis. Liv. l. 1.

Quod autem non Judex, sed Deus ipse vindex constituitur, *Præsentis* pœnæ metu religio confirmari videtur. Cic. de Leg. l. 2.

(y) Perjurii pœna divina exitium, humana dedecus. *ibid.*

Moses

Moses is then upon the same Footing at least with all these antient Legislators: His Notions of a Providence are as extensive as theirs: His Words ought in common Justice to be construed as extensively as theirs; or their Words reduced to the Extent of his. And if the bare Omission of a future State in any Body of Institutes be sufficient to prove the Divine Legation of such Legislator, Do you judge how many of the antient Legislators will have a Claim to a Divine Mission as well as *Moses*.

Thus much for the Conduct of Legislators and Institutors of Civil Society. I shall next consider what Mr. *Warburton* has offer'd about "the Opinions of all the Learners and Teachers of Wisdom in the Schools of antient Philosophy." p. 86.

I do not design by this to examine at large what he has offered upon this Head, but I shall confine myself principally to what He himself thinks may be deemed an "unreasonable and licentious Paradox," concerning the *Double Doctrine* of the antient *Philosophers*: In which I think him

as much mistaken as he was in the Conduct of the antient Legislators.

That the Force of what I shall say on this Head may be the better seen. I shall

First lay down what the Antients themselves have said about the *Double Doctrine*, and shew how they understood their own Language and Practice; and shall enquire whether what they did is sufficient to justify their Use of an Esoteric and Exoteric Teaching. And then I will examine the Reasons given by Mr. *Warburton* for his *new Notion*. If you see that the Antients deliver'd their Sentiments consistently and rationally, and that Mr. *Warburton* has not made out his new Notion, I persuade myself that you will see no Reason in any great Haste to follow this new Light into the Province of Paradox.

I must observe, First, That *Ἀκροατής* is properly a *Hearer*; and thence it is put for a *Disciple*, or one that goes to any one as a *Master* to be taught by him; and the *learning* is called *ἀκρόασις*. *Auditio*. Now these Hearers or Disciples were of two Sorts. Those who came to the Teacher as Scholars and paid for their Learning; and those that
were

were ἐξωλεκρικδι, i. e. All such as resorted to hear any Public Lectures; and these were distinguished from the *Scholars* properly so called. This gave occasion for such Expressions as these, ἐξωλεκρικδι λόγοι, ἐξωλεκρικὴ ἀκρόασις, *exoterica Auditio, exoteric Discourses, exoteric Hearing or Learning*, which were such Lectures as were read to all promiscuously that came to hear them.

That the ἐξωλεκρικδι λόγοι, *exoteric Speeches, or Discourses*, were such Lectures, appears from *Andronicus*, the Paraphrast of *Aristotle's Ethics ad Nicomachum*. *Aristotle* himself had said, λέγεται περὶ αὐτῆς [ψυχῆς] καὶ ἐν ἐξωλεκρικοῖς λόγοις ἀρκούντως ἔνια, καὶ χρησιέον αὐτοῖς. *Andronicus* paraphrases this thus ---- Περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ μόνον ἐν συγγράμμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ σώματος πρὸς τὰς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀρκούντως ἀπομεν ἔνια. *Aristotle's Words* are ---- *We have said some things concerning the Soul in our Exoteric Discourses: Andronicus's Paraphrase is,--We have said some things concerning the Soul not only in our Writings, or set Discourses, but in what was delivered viva voce, to all that happened to COME TO HEAR us. So that in Andronicus's Notion, ἐξωλεκρικδι λόγοι, or Exoteric Discourses, were committed to Writing, as well as delivered viva*

voce;

78 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

voce; and then were called ἐξωτερικά συγγράμματα, *Exoteric Writings*.

The *Exoteric*, λόγοι, *Discourses*, were spoken to those that were ἐξω, *Strangers*, i. e. not professed Scholars or Disciples; to all ἐντυχάνοντας, all that chanced to give their Attendance upon the Lecture. The *Exoteric συγγράμματα*, *Writings*, were the same Lectures put into Writing, and in course suited to the Hearers.

2. As ἀκροατής was properly a Disciple or Scholar, so what was read to such was called *Acroatic*, and from the *privateness* of the Lecture, it was called *Esoteric*: i. e. a Lesson or Discourse read to those that were ἔσω. For *Acroatic* and *Esoteric* are the same: both opposed to the Discourses read τοῖς ἐξω, to those without, i. e. to those that were not Disciples, who paid for their learning. Therefore (z) *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes, *Exoteric*, and *Common*, the Same. *Strom.* l. 5. which shews how He understood the Word *Exoteric*. Whatever then *Aristotle* read or discoursed to any, or all that came to him in the *Evening* as he walked in the *Lycaum*, be it on what Subject he would,

(z) Τὰ δὲ ἐξωτερικά καὶ κοινὰ. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. v.

it was an *Exoteric*; not that he did not believe every thing that he there said; but it was a Doctrine that he taught ἐξωλεκτοῖς to all that came to hear him. And if these *Exoteric* Discourses were read to his *Scholars*, whom he taught in the Morning, they were then *acroatic* Discourses or Lectures.

3. As there were ἐξωλεκτικοὶ λόγοι, and συγγράμματα, *Exoteric Discourses and Writings*, so likewise, there were ακροατικοὶ λόγοι and ακροατικὰ συγγράμματα. This appears from *Alexander's* Letter to *Aristotle*, and *Aristotle's* Answer to him, which I shall cite by and by. These were Discourses read in private to the *Scholars*, and are the same with *Esoteric*s. These were either *viva voce* Lectures read to them, or Writings upon any Subjects, well considered, polished, finished; which went to the bottom of the Subject: and therefore in many cases fit only for such as had Abilities, or had made a Progress sufficient to comprehend them.

The *First* Reason then of the Distinction between *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Doctrines was taken from the *Persons* to whom they were read: the *Exoteric* being read to all that happened

happened to attend them, the *Acroatic* only to proper Scholars.

A *Second Reason* was taken from the *Matter* treated of in these Discourses. *Aulus Gellius* is very particular as to this Point. (a) "By *Exoterics*," says he, "they meant such Discourses as related to *Rhetoric*, the *Art*, or *Faculty*, of speaking acutely, and the Knowledge of Civil Affairs. *Acroatics* were called such Discourses in which the more profound and subtile Philosophy was concerned; such as related to the Contemplations of Nature, and Dialectical Disputes."

When he had thus defined these Words from the *Matter*, or *Subject* of them, he goes on to shew the Difference of *Acroatic* and *Exoteric* from the *Persons* as I before explain'd it. *Aristotle* says he, (b) "did not indifferently admit every Body to his

(a) *Ἐξωτερικά* dicebantur quæ ad Rhetoricas meditationes, facultatem argutiarum, Civiliumque rerum notitiam conducebant. *Ἀκροατικά* vocabantur in quibus Philosophia remotior subtiliorque agitabatur, quæque ad naturæ contemplationes disceptationesque Dialecticas pertinebant. *Gellius*. l. xx. c. 5.

(b) Nec ad eam [*viz.* ἀκροασίνην] quemquam temerè mittebat, nisi quorum ante ingenium et eruditionis elementa atque in discendo studium laboremque explorasset. Illas vero Ἐξωτερικάς auditiones—vulgo Juvenibus sine delectu præbebat. *ibid.*

Acroatic

“ *Acroatic Lectures*, but only such whose
“ Learning, Industry and Application to
“ Study He had tried and well knew. But
“ his *Exoteric Lectures* he publicly and
“ openly read to young Men without any
“ Distinction.”

A Third Difference observed by *Gellius* between the two Sorts of Doctrines is, that
(c) “ the *Exoterics* were Lectures read in
“ the *Evening*, the *Acroatics* were read in
“ the *Morning*.” And *Aristotle* so divided
his Books into these Sorts, that some of
them were called *Exoterics*, others *Acroatics*.

There may seem to some, a difference
between the *Exoteric* and *Acroatic* Doctrine
taken from the *Manner* in which the Books
were wrote. *Tully* has made a Remark,
which may seem to lead to this, though in
reality it does not. His Words are (d) ---
“ There are two Sorts of Books concerning
“ the *Summum Bonum*, the One wrote in a
“ popular Manner which they call *Exoteric*,

(c) Ἐξωτερικὰς auditiones exercitiumque dicendi—vesperi faciebat, atque eum δελινδὸν περίπασον appellabat, illum alterum supra ἑωθινόν ibid. Pomeridianis Scholis Aristoteles præcipere Artem oratoriam cœpit. *Quintil.* l. 3. c. 1.

(d) De summo autem bono, quia duo Genera librorum sunt, unum populariter scriptum, quod ἐξωτερικὸν appellabant, alterum limatius quod in commentariis reliquerunt, non semper idem dicere videntur. *Cic de finibus*, l. 5.

“ the Other *more accurate and finished,*
 “ which they left in their *Commentaries:*
 “ And in these they do not seem always to
 “ say the same.” It is certain that *Aristotle*
 wrote in *Commentaries* both his *Exoteric* and
Acroatic Discourses: “ *Librosque suos earum*
 “ *omnium rerum Commentarios, seorsim di-*
 “ *visit; ut alii Exoterici dicerentur, partim*
 “ *Acroatici,*” says *Gellius*. Does *Cicero* mean
 then, that the *popularly wrote* Treatises were
 called *Exoterics*, and those that were *more*
polished or accurate only were left in Books
 and call’d *Esoterics*? This can’t be, be-
 cause we have *Exoteric* Discourses, such as
 those in which *Aristotle* treated about the
 Soul, which himself expressly calls *Exoteric*,
 left in Books. *Cicero* I think, seems to mean,
 that there were two Sorts of written Treati-
 ses or Discourses. One *popular*, containing
 the *Exoteric* Lectures, wrote in a plain, dif-
 fuse, ~ copious Manner, suited to common
 Capacities and what every Body could ap-
 prehend: The Other Sort of Lectures was
 “ wrote with *Accuracy*” and Care and Con-
 ciseness, suited more to those (*e*) who had Parts

(*e*) Quorum ingenium et eruditionis elementa atque in dis-
 cendo studium laboremque explorasset. *Gellius*,

and Learning, and who were willing to Study and to take Pains. These latter Treatises were not usually *Exoteric*: but yet they might be so, if they were read to Persons abroad, at the Evening Lecture. Now *Cicero* here mentions only *Exoteric* Treatises, whether *popularly* or *more accurately* wrote concerning the *summum bonum*, in which there was not the Consistency he desired: and has not mentioned the Other, or the *Acroatic* Treatises at all. This I take to be his meaning: But let it be what it will, there is no hint that the *Exoteric* contained a Doctrine *not believed* by its Author: Nor can his Word, *limatius*, *more polished*, *more accurate*, signify any thing more than that he wrote in a more exact and finished manner what he said upon that Subject.

The Difference between the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Doctrines being thus founded on the *Persons*, *Subjects*, *Times*, and perhaps the *Manner* of Writing; I must observe further,

That we have extant a Letter of *Alexander's* to *Aristotle*, and *Aristotle's* Answer; in both which, mention is made of the ἀκροατικὸν καὶ λόγοι, or *Acroatic Discourses*. (f) *Alexander*

(f) Οὐκ ἔρθῶς ἐποίησας, ἐκδὺς τὰς ἀκροατικὰς τῶν λόγων. Τίτι γὰρ ἔτι διδίσκωμεν ἡμῶς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καὶ οὗ ἐπαί-

84 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

writes to him a Reproof, that he had published his *Acroatic Discourses* or Doctrines, those in which he had been instructed by him; and asks, *Wherein should he excell others, if the Notions which he had received from him were now common to all?* And he adds, that he had rather excell others in Knowledge of the best Things, than in Arms.

Aristotle's Acroatics then contained the things in which he instructed young *Alexander*; and which his Pupil, in the midst of his Victories and great Successes, and grown riper in Judgment, deemed unfit to be published, because, *if the Knowledge of them were COMMON to all, he should have no particular Advantage in that Respect over others.* He owns that he was indebted to these *Acroatics* for the Knowledge or Skill in the BEST things. *Plutarch* will explain this: For speaking of these very Letters, he tells us, (g) that *Aristotle* taught *Alexander* “the
“ Secret and weightier Instructions which
“ Men peculiarly style *Acroamatic* and *Epop-*

δεύθημεν λόγους ἔτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί; Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀριστα ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεισι διαφέρειν. *Gellius*. l. xx. c. 5.

(g) Τῶν ὑπορήτων καὶ βαρύνων διδασκαλιῶν, ἃς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες, ἐκ ἐξέτερον εἰς πολλὰς. *Plut. Alex.* p. 668.

“tic, and which they do not publish to all the
“World.” Are not these secret and weightier, or more momentous *Instructions*, the very Depths, the full and whole that the Master knew on any Subject? They are in matters of Philosophy what Gellius calls, (b) *the more deep and subtle Philosophy*. Plutarch says, that Alexander wrote to Aristotle ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίας, in behalf of or about *Philosophy*: and he plainly understands by this Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*. He expresses himself indeed, as Plutarch too often does, so obscurely, that it may be hard to fix the exact meaning of every Word: However it is easy to see what is *not* his meaning. It is *not* any thing relating to *believing* or *not believing* the Doctrine taught, which distinguished the *Exoteric* from the *Acroatic*. His Words are, (i) *For in Truth the Affair of Metaphysics, (containing nothing useful either to [common] teaching or learning) was wrote as a short Specimen or System for those who had been instructed from the Beginning. As they were wrote therefore in this manner, for the Use*

(b) Philosophia remotior subtiliorque. Gellius supra.

(i) Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἡ μεταφυσικὴ πραγματεία πρὸς διδασκαλίαν καὶ μάθησιν ἔστιν ἔχουσα χεῖριστον, ὑποδιδασκὰ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς γέγραπται. Plut. Alex.

86 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

of those who had been instructed already by him, and only for those; He might justly answer *Alexander*, that his (*k*) Acroatics were published and not published, because they were not intelligible, except to those only who had heard him. *Plutarch* commends in the same place, *Alexander's* (*l*) innate Zeal for and desire of Philosophy nursed up with him from the beginning: which seems to intimate that the Philosophy taught him by *Aristotle* was the thing which so greatly distinguished him from others. He mentions likewise that he learnt *Ethics* and *Politics* from *Aristotle*: and he was wont to pay his grateful Acknowledgments to his Master, even preferring him to his Father, to whom he was indebted that he lived, but to the Other, that he was enabled to live well.

But be the Acroatics either Physics or Metaphysics, be they Ethical or Political Discourses, it is plain that *Plutarch* was in the same Sentiments about them that *Gellius* was, that they were Doctrines profound, deep, subtle, weighty, fit for such as had been already

(*k*) Ἰδι αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκδεδομένος καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένος. *Εὐ-
νιστοὶ γὰρ εἰσι μόνοις τοῖς ἡμῶν ἀκούσασιν. Gellius. Plut.*

(*l*) Πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκὼς καὶ συνειδηταμένος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ζῆλος καὶ πόθος. *Ibid.*

instructed

instructed in them. It is certain they were Doctrines committed to a *young Pupil*, which therefore one may be sure, were not Doctrines which related to the *Non-belief of God or the Gods*, or to the Non-existence of the Soul in a proper State of Rewards or Punishments. But further,

It is well enough known how zealous the Fathers of the Church were against the Heathens; they charged them with every Thing that could make the World have a light Esteem for them, or their Notions. Now what a noble Field would here have been open'd, could they have charged their Sages and Philosophers with the Diffimulation, which Mr. *Warburton* has here done? Could they have loaded them with the Crime of *believing one Thing, and teaching another*, with *Lying*, with imposing on the Credulity of the People; what a Display of Rhetoric should we have had? Could there have been a more fit Occasion for Satire, or for Declamation, than what such Conduct would have afforded? They knew of the *double Doctrine*; but they were so far from imagining, that *Plato* or *Aristotle*, &c. were guilty of any Crime, or deserved

any Blame, that they never reproach them on that Account; nay, they justify their Use of the *Esoteric* and *Exoteric* Doctrinēs. They were so far from thinking that they deserved any Censure for their Manner of teaching, that *Clemens* puts *Moses*, and the *Egyptians*, and the *Philosophers*, upon a Level in this Respect, and applauds the Wisdom of them all for covering their Doctrines with Veils, which the common People could not see thro'. He urges the common Practice of both Sacred and Profane Writers to involve their religious Notions in Obscurity: and he produces several Reasons in Justification of that Practice. He shews, that *Moses* had a deep and mystical View in the Contrivance of the Apparatus of the Tabernacle; and the Apostles too concealed the *Mysteries* of the Christian Faith. And whilst he was setting out these Things at large, he mentions the ἀπ' ῥήϊα, the *Secrets* of the *Philosophers*, and their *double Doctrines*. (m) Not only the *Pythagoreans*,

(m) Οὐ μόνον ἄρα οἱ Πυθαγόριοι καὶ Πλάτων τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεκρύπτοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Επικουριοὶ φασὶ τίνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ εἶναι, καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπεν ἐντυλῆσθαι τούτοις τοῖς γραμμασιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Στωικοὶ λέγουσι Ζήνωνι τῷ πρώτῳ γεγραμμέναι τίνα, ἃ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπιτρέπεται τοῖς μαθηταῖς

reans, and Plato, says he, *HID many Things, but the Epicureans too say, that They have their Secrets, and do not permit every Body to peruse those Writings. The Stoics too tell us, that some Things were wrote by Zeno the First, which they do not suffer their Disciples easily to read, unless they have first given Proof, that they are of a true philosophic Turn, or Disposition. The Followers of Aristotle too say, that some of their Doctrines are Esoteric, others are Common and Exoteric. They also that instituted the Mysteries, being PHILOSOPHERS [not LEGISLATORS, Mr. Warburton on the contrary says, they were LEGISLATORS, not PHILOSOPHERS] covered over their Opinions with Fables, that they might not be open or manifest to all.*

The Design of Clemens was to justify this Method of concealing Notions from the profane and unworthy; but he never hints at the Philosophers *not believing* what was either covered, or concealed, or expressed by Symbols, and in Allegory, or what was

μαθηταῖς ἀναγινώσκειν, μὴ δοχὴ πέραν δεδωκόσι πρότερον, εἰ γνηστίας φιλοσοσοῖεν. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀριστοτέλει, τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκείνα τῶν συγγραμμάτων αἰσῶ, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τε καὶ ἐξωτερικά. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὰ μυστήρια θέμενοι, φιλόσοφοι ὄντες, τὰ αὐτῶν δόγματα τοῖς μύθοις κατέχουσιν, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι πᾶσι δῆλα. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 680, 681.

common

90 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

common and exoteric, or laid before the People. He goes on in a very remarkable Passage to observe, (n) that neither the Pythagorean Fables, nor what Plato says in his Republic concerning Armenius, nor in his Gorgias concerning Æacus and Rhadamanthus, nor in his Phædon concerning Tartarus, nor in his Protagoras concerning Prometheus and Epimetheus, nor what he says of the War between the Atlantines and Athenians in the Atlantic Sea. --- These, says he, are not to be allegorized, as to every Word, but only such Words as are declarative of the general Sentiments. He supposes the Things signified by those Words to be really true, and to be believed, tho' they were covered over with Symbolical, or Mystical, or Allegorical Veils; and that under those Veils, and by such Terms, a real, believed Truth was intended. And hence it is that he makes the

(n) Οὐδ' οἱ μῦθοι οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, ἀλλὰ ἔσ' οἱ παρὰ Πλάτωνι, ἐν Πολιτείᾳ περὶ τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ, καὶ ἐν Γοργίᾳ Ἀΐακος καὶ Ραδαμάνθυος, καὶ ἐν Φαίδωνι ὁ τῷ Ταρταρῷ, καὶ ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ ὁ Προμηθεύς καὶ Ἐπιμηθεύς. Περὶ δὲ τούτοις, ὁ τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ, ἔχ' ὅπλῳ κατὰ πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα ἀλληγορητίοι, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς διανοίας τῆς καθόλου σημαντικά καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἐξέειπεν ἂν διὰ συμβόλων ὑπὸ παρακαλύμματος τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ μνησμένα. Clem. Alex. St. 5.

true

true Distinction of the double Doctrine to be, that (o) *the one was spoken out clearly, the other was covered from the many.*

From these Remarks upon the double Doctrine it plainly appears, that the Antients were perfect Strangers to even the Suspicion of that which Mr. Warburton calls his "New Opinion." Vol. I. p. 351. The Practice of the double Doctrine was a Thing well known, and much approved by them: But to suppose it to consist in speaking what was *not believed*, was as far from *their* Thoughts, as it was from every Bodies else, when Mr. Warburton first discovered this Secret.

You'll tell me perhaps, that it is nothing to the Purpose to enquire what Notions the Antients had about the *double Doctrine*: That Mr. Warburton owns his Opinion to be "New;" and therefore that it is lost Labour to search in Antiquity for what has been all along mistaken, or misunderstood.

But this is the very Thing, which shews how unreasonable and "licentious his Para-

(o) Τὸ μὲν φᾶναι, τὸ δὲ κρυπνόμενον εἶναι πρὸς τὰς πολλὰς. Clem. *ibid.*

dox" is; it is in Effect to maintain that the Antients did not understand their own Words, or their own Practices. He has not produced one Passage that directly proves his Point; but he has first invented an Hypothesis about the double Doctrine; and then He tries to accommodate his Schemes to that. Is there one express Passage, which proves, that the *Exoteric* Doctrines were not *believed*? Is it not by Way of *Consequence* only, that this *Disbelief* of what they openly taught is charged upon them? Has he produced any Passages from *Plato*, or *Aristotle*, or any of those who used the Distinction of *Esoteric* and *Exoteric*, which come up to his Point? He has indeed found out a Distinction betwixt what *Plato's* Words are, and what he makes *Socrates* say, in order to establish his Point, that *Plato* did not *believe*, tho' he *profess'd*, a future State of Rewards and Punishments. *Remarks.* p. 65. But this Distinction was as much unknown to the Antients as his Paradox itself was. They tell us, that he (p) gave us his

(p) Περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀπορρίναι διὰ τετάρτων προσώπων, Σωκράτους, Τιμαίου, &c. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους καὶ τὰ Τιμαίου λόγων Πλάτωνος δογματίζει. Diog. Laert. vita Platoni.

own Sentiments under the Persons of Socrates, Timæus, &c. And take away what *Socrates, Timæus, the Athenian Stranger, and the Eleatic Stranger* say, there will remain but little in Comparison, from whence one can learn *Plato's* Opinions. But to return to what I was observing about the Doctrine of *Plato*.

The Works of *Plato* were never distinguished by himself, or any other, into the two general Classes of Esoterics and Exoterics. The grand Distinction of them was into other general Heads, which again were subdivided into the *Physical*, under which was ranged *Timæus: Logical*; under which Head was placed, *Politicus, Cratylus, Parmenides, Sophistes. Ethical*; under which was put his *Apology, Criton, Phædon, Phædrus, Symposium, Menexenus, Clitophon, Epistles, Philebus, Hipparchus, Anterastæ. Political*; under which Head were his Books of *Republic, Laws, Minos, Epinomis, Atlantis. Maieutic*; which contains *Alcibiades, Theages, Lysis, and Laches. Pirastic*, or what was wrote to try to confound the Arrogance of others; such were *Euthyphron, Menon, Ion, Charmides, Theætetus. Demonstrative*;

94 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*
monstrative; which has the *Protagoras*.
And last of all the *Subversive*; in which
the Business was to confute and subvert any
Notions; and in this Class were *Euthyde-*
mus, the Two *Hippias*'s, and the *Gorgias*.
This is the Division of them in *Diogenes*
Laertius: And there is the very same Di-
vision of them by *Albinus*: Only this last
Author has placed some of the particular
Treatises under a different, general Head.
But Both of them place the *Gorgias* under
the Class of *Subversive*, as it ought to be,
it being design'd to confute the Sophists
about their false Use of *Rhetoric*. Neither
of these Writers ever thought of such a No-
tion, or such a Division, as of Books, which
contained what *Plato taught*, and did *not*
believe, and what he *taught*, and did *be-*
lieve. A Distinction! which could not but
have naturally occur'd, had such a Notion
been then known, or heard of, or had it
been the reputed Meaning of *Esoterics* and
Exoterics. The *Gorgias* then of *Plato* may
be deem'd an *Exoteric* Book, because it con-
tained a Discourse upon the Subject of
Rhetoric, and the true and false Use of that
Art: But not because it detailed out the
Doctrine

Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments of which *Plato* believed nothing *himself*, tho' he taught it others as seriously as if he had believed it. It may not be amiss,

Lastly, to observe that *Speusippus*, the Disciple of *Plato*, first published what *Isocrates* called τα ἀπορρητα. These *Secrets* were nothing but what *Isocrates* made a great *Secret* of; not what he did not believe, but what he did believe, and kept as a great *Secret* to himself, which was the Art of turning a Period rightly. He was in high Credit, and followed by the most illustrious Scholars in *Athens*, where he taught Eloquence with the greatest Success and Admiration; and as he had made particular Observations on the Manner and *Art* of Speaking, --- These were what He kept as *Secrets*, and were what *Speusippus* published. v. *Laertius* in *Speusippum*, and the Commentators on that Place in *Menagius's* Edition.

From these Things I would observe,

1. Supposing these old Philosophers to be Legislators, and to have had in View the public Utility. Nothing appears from what the Antients

Antients have said (and we find the Word often used by them) that by *Exoterics*, were meant Doctrines, which those, who taught them, did *not believe*. Exoterics were Doctrines read to the Vulgar, and suited to vulgar *Capacities*, or the common Ideas which the Vulgar had. Supposing then, that the Philosophers made use, in those Discourses, of Parables, or Fables, or Allegories; --- This was done in order to represent Things so as the People could best apprehend them; and this Manner of teaching ought not to be treated as *Lying*, or as not believing the *Things* which they taught. When any one uses a *Parable*, in order to convey his Sentiments,--- is he to be charged with teaching what he does not believe? How will such a Notion agree with the Manner of teaching in the New Testament? *Macrobius* (*q*) (whose Words I shall have Occasion to consider by and by) has wrote a particular Chapter to enquire, what *Fables* Philosophy may allow of or admit, and upon what Occasions Philosophers are wont

(*q*) Quid respondendum. Coloti Epicureo, putanti philosopho non esse utendum fabulis: quaque fabulas philosophia recipiat, et quando his Philosophi soleant uti. *Macrobius in Som. Scip. c. 2.*

to use them. He there mentions the Cases in which he thinks it *lawful* and right to use *Fable*: and what he has said on that Head is applicable to other Manners of conveying Instruction to the common People.

Mr. *Toland* has made another Use of the double Doctrine than what Mr. *Warburton* has, and has run into a very different Extreme. He says, that the Philosophers were “ constrained by the *Holy Tyranny of the*
“ *Priests* to make use of a twofold Doctrine, the one *popular*, accommodated to
“ the PREJUDICES of the Vulgar, and to
“ the received Customs or Religions; the
“ other *philosophical*, conformable to the
“ Nature of Things, and consequently to
“ Truth, which, with *Doors fast shut*, and
“ under all other Precautions they communicated only to Friends of known Probity, Prudence and Capacity. These,
“ says he, they generally called the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric*, or the *External* and *Internal* Doctrines.” *Toland's Tetradymus*, p. 66. Mr. *Toland* had as much Right to invent this Hypothesis, which has not one Word in Antiquity to support it, as Mr.

Warburton has for his Paradox, which is equally groundless. That which confutes his Notion is, that the *Esoteric* Lectures were read in the *Morning* to their Scholars and to those only; the *Exoterics*, or popular ones, were read in the Evening: nor was the *Exoteric* Doctrine accommodated to the *Prejudices* of the Vulgar, but to the *Capacities* of them.

2. Be it granted, that the Philosophers had in View the Public Good, and that they talked *Exoterically* upon Points where popular *Prejudices* were concerned,--- it does not follow, that they therefore *disbelieved* the Truth, the real Truth, of the Case upon which they were speaking. Let us suppose, that they had Occasion to speak to the Vulgar concerning the *Gods*; they might speak of *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, &c. as *Gods*; Or if they had Occasion to speak of a future State, they might speak of *Æacus* and *Rhadamanthus*, and the Judges of Hell. Now as they who did not believe *Hercules* and *Æsculapius* to be *Gods*, did not for that Reason *disbelieve* the Existence of a governing Mind, so they that did not believe *Æacus* or *Minos* to be *Judges of Hell*, did not

not for that Reason *disbelieve* all future Rewards and Punishments. The *more profound Philosophy* was certainly concerned in the searching out these Points: and tho' the Philosophers, or some of them, might find Reason to reject the *Poetical* or *Political Gods*, and to reject too the vulgar Notions of *Styx*, and *Acheron* and *Cocytus*, yet in their Discourses to those who could not enter into the Bottom of Things, they might talk of these *Gods*, or *Rivers*, as really existing. They meant to convey to the People these Truths, --- that there was a governing Being, or a Providence, and a future State of Rewards and Punishments; Things which they *believed* themselves, and desired to have the People believe: and if they laid hold of their *Prejudices*, or their *Capacities*, in order to inculcate what they intended, it is too great a Stride in Argument to infer, that the Teachers did not believe either a God or a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

3. The Immortality of the Soul, and a State of future Rewards or Punishments, was not in itself either an *Esoteric* or an *Exoteric* Doctrine, but the Discourse or Writing on that Subject received its Name

from the Persons to whom, or the Manner, or the Time in which it was delivered. Nor can it be infer'd, that *Plato* did, or did not believe, that the Soul would or would not suffer, or be rewarded hereafter, from the Discourses being proved to be *Esoteric* or *Exoteric*. For if he treated of this Subject *exoterically*, it only follows, that he treated of it in the *popular* Manner, and agreeable to their *Capacities*; and if he treated of the same Subject *Esoterically*, it only follows, that then he treated of it according to the strict Reasons of Things, according to the Nature of the Soul; in short, according to the Rules of the more *profound* and *subtile Philosophy*, in which *Esoteric* Doctrines consisted.

4. If we admit the Accounts, which the Antients have given us, or, if they knew any Thing of this Matter, it will follow, that some of the Books of *Plato*, which Mr. *Warburton* reckons among the *Exoterics* are in Reality *Esoteric*. The *Phædon*, e. g. is an *Esoteric*, as containing the most *profound* and *subtile Philosophy* about the Soul. His *Tenth* Book of *Laws* contains the most *sublime* Reasoning about the Soul,

adapted not at all to Vulgar Capacities : He speaks of it as a *self-moving* Being : He enters into the most *subtile* Reasoning about *Motion* and *Movers*, and whether there is any other Beginning of Motion, besides the Change of that, which moves itself : That Soul existed truly and properly before Body : That the Properties of Soul, its Affections, Manners, Thoughts, true Opinions, Memory, were before the Properties of Body : That the Universe is governed by a Mind or Soul : and thence he proceeds to consider the Case of the good Success of wicked Men, and to shew, that the World is governed by God. Can any Thing be more in the *profound* and *subtile* Manner of Philosophising than this ?

These Books of *Laws*, it is true, relate to the Knowledge of *Civil* Affairs, and therefore may be said in general to be of the *Exoteric* Kind. But what can be more *Esoteric* than such abstract Reasoning about the Supreme Being ? Or did not *Plato* believe that which he so much insisted on to be the Nature of this Supreme Being ? Or may there not be *Esoteric* Notions in *Exoteric* Books ? Suppose in general, that what-

ever is *Political* in *Plato* was properly *Exoterical*,--- will that prove, that every Thing contained *now* in such Discourses was actually read *τῷς ἑξω*, to those without, or that were not his proper Scholars. Notions of the more *abstruse* and *profound* Philosophy, such as are properly *Esoteric*, might be inserted afterwards into *Exoterical* Lectures, when he came to *polish* and correct them, and make them fit for the Reader : And this may be a good Reason why his Books were never divided into the general Classes of *Exoteric* and *Esoteric*.

In the *Phædon*, He shews that Contraries must arise from Contraries ; that the Soul is not *dissolved*, because not *compounded* : That those Things are *simple and uncompounded*, which are always the same, in the same *Respects*, and the same *Manner* : That the Soul is *something indivisible* : That it is more like to That, which is always the same, than to That which is not so : That it is therefore more like to That which is *Divine*, than to That which is *Mortal* : That from its Being most like to That which is *divine*, *immortal*, *intelligible*, *uniform*, and *indissoluble*, the Soul itself must be *indissoluble*, and

not like Body that has quite contrary Properties.

It is needless to cite more of this abstract Reasoning from the *Phædon*. There is much more of it, from whence the Immortality of the Soul, and the Punishments of the different Sorts or Degrees of wicked Souls is infer'd; and the Rewards of Good and Holy ones is established.

Whether *Plato* believed, or not, what he says about the Immortality of the Soul, and its future State, it is certain, that he speaks *like* one that did *believe* it, and was persuaded of its proper Rewards and Punishments; and he gives his Reasons for what he says so accurately, and with so much Judgment, that tho' *all the (r) minute Philosophers were to try their Arts, they will never explain those Matters so elegantly; nor have they Capacities even to understand, what he has, with so much Acuteness, inferred.* Can any Thing be more *subtile*, more in the Way of *deep Philosophy*, than what is urged

(r) Licet concurrant plebei omnes Philosophi (sic enim ij qui a Platone et Socrate, et ab illa familia dissident appellandi videntur) non modo nihil unquam tam eleganter explicabunt, sed ne hoc quidem ipsum quam *subtiliter* conclusum sit, intelligent. *Cic. Tus. Qu. l. i.*

by *Plato* in this Treatise, about the Soul? Is not this therefore all *Esoteric*, if *Gellius* knew any Thing of the Use of that Word Are not these Notions such as required, *Elementa Eruditionis atque in discendo Studium, The Elements of Knowledge or Instruction, and close Application to Learning?* If so, I cannot think, that *Mr. Warburton* does Justice to his Readers to call these and such Books of *Plato*, *Exoterics*, when in Reality they are in the strictest Propriety, *Esoterics*. But

Fifthly, Upon what Reason, or upon what Grounds does He determine the *Phædon*, or the *Criton*, to be *Exoterical*? The only appearing Reason is, That in these *Plato* has treated of the Immortality of the Soul, and of Rewards and Punishments adjusted to the moral Characters of Persons in a future State. But how will it appear that a Book, containing these Notions, is therefore of the *Exoteric* Kind; since we are assured by good Authority, that the *Exoterics* related to *Rhetoric*, to a *Readiness in speaking acutely*, or to the *Knowledge of Civil Affairs*: And accordingly I have observed, that *Aristotle* read his *Rhetorical Lectures* in the
Evenings

Evenings or Afternoon Hours: *Horis Pomeridianis*. Now to which of these is the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments reducible. You may as well say to either of the *former*, as to the *last*; since it cannot relate to the Knowledge of *Civil* Affairs, but very remotely, and so it may to any other Subject whatever. The Old *Platonists* therefore refer'd these Books to the Class of *Ethical*, not *Political* Treatises; *Albinus* did so, and so it is in *Diogenes Laertius*.

But in Mr. *Warburton's* Manner of treating this Subject, no sooner does any Thing appear about a future State of Rewards and Punishments, however it be handled, or whether it be treated in the more *subtile* and *profound* Manner or not, but the Treatise, in which it occurs, is pronounced to be an *Exoteric*: Nay it seems to be the Principal, if not the *Only* Test by which he pronounces some of *Plato's* Tracts to be of that Class. For take away this, and tell me why the *Phædon* is an *Exoteric*? By the Rules of the *Antients*, if they knew the Meaning of the Distinction of the double Doctrine, this Book of *Plato's* is so far from

from being an *Exoteric*, that it is a direct *Esoteric*: for it consists of *abstract, subtle* Reasonings in the *profound Philosophy*, beyond vulgar Capacities. And what was beyond their Capacities, or Comprehension, was not at all fit to be read τοῖς ἑξῶ.

Sixthly, Suppose Mr. *Warburton* can prove, that *Plato* did not believe what he says about *Hades, Styx, Acheron*, the Infernal Judges, and the Punishments he describes; still he is to prove (what he has not yet done) that *Plato* did not believe *any* future State of Rewards and Punishments. Has Mr. *Warburton* produced any positive Proof of this? Has he cited any Authority from other Writers for it? Or has he cited any Passage out of *Plato's* own Works that will justify this Charge? No. All that he has done is to shew, that *Plato* has treated of a future State under such Representations as he *could* not, and *did* not, believe to be true. Let this be allowed: What then? Is *Plato* to be charged with disbelieving a future State of Rewards and Punishments, because he did not believe, according to the Letter, his own Figurative, or as *Clemens* calls it, Allegorical Representation of it? Would

Would not this be saying, that a Christian does not believe a future State, either of Heaven or Hell, because he does not believe the *New Jerusalem* to be built of *Pretious Stones*, or the Flames of Hell to be fed with Brimstone in the literal Sense? If any one uses such Language, this is not to be censured, as *saying one Thing and believing another*; but it is using Metaphor or Allegory to represent in the liveliest Manner the Pleasures and Advantages of the One, and the Terrors of the other, (Both which are strictly and firmly *believed*) from Images most agreeable or disagreeable to Mankind in their present Situation, and according to their usual present Ideas. But to return to the Notions of the Double Doctrine.

Seventhly, *Alexander* learnt from *Aristotle*, not only Morality and Policy, but the more abstruse Parts of Learning, which were not usually communicated to the Vulgar. So *Plutarch* tells us; and adds, that it was in *Behalf of Philosophy*, *ὑπὲρ Φιλοσοφίας*, that *Alexander* wrote to him the Letter that is still extant. The Thing that *Alexander* wrote about must either relate to what he was taught about the Art of
living

108 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

living well, or else to that System of Philosophy, which was above the Capacities of, and therefore improper to be laid before, the Vulgar. This Latter seems plainly to have been the Case. And if so, then *Esoterics* are uncommon Doctrines, which contained the *Depths of Philosophy*: *Exoterics* were such Notions as were communicated τοῖς ἑξῶ, *to the Vulgar*, in a plain, familiar Manner. The very same Notions treated in a different Manner might, and very probably did, make the *Esoteric*, or the *Exoteric*: Not that the one was *believed* by the Person that taught it, and not the Other; but that the one entered much *deeper* into the Subject than the Other: the One went to the *Bottom* of the Question, the Other not. And consequently *Alexander* might very justly say, that he should *not differ from Others*, if *those Principles that he had been instructed in were made common to all*.

Give me Leave to explain this by a similar Case. Mr. *Warburton* has somewhere commended very much a late, ingenious, subtle, abstract Discourse upon the Immortality of the Soul: And no doubt Mr. *Baxter* deserves the highest Commendation for his
accurate

accurate and deep Treatise upon so nice a Subject. Let me suppose, that Mr. *Warburton* had some *Pupil* whose Parts and Study had qualified him to hear, and to understand abstract and metaphysical Lectures upon the Nature and Properties of the Soul; and let me farther suppose, that Mr. *Warburton* had been the true Author of that acute and subtile Book. Let me suppose too, that Mr. *Warburton*, as a Clergyman, might have Occasion to preach to his own, or any other Congregation, a Sermon upon that Subject. Would he preach to the *People*, *i. e.* τοῖς ἑξῆς, such Things as he might and would read to his *Pupil* upon that Subject at Home? Or if he read and explained in the most accurate and abstract Manner the Chapters of Mr. *Baxter's* Book to his *Pupil*; and preached to his *People* according to their Capacities, in a more loose and open Manner, --- would not one of these Lectures, or Treatises, or Discourses, be justly called *Exoterical*, and the other that enter'd into the Depths of *Metaphysicks*, be called *Esoterical*? Should any one arise and charge Mr. *Warburton* with not believing the *Exoterical* Discourses, only because
they

110 *The* DOUBLE DOCTRINE of

they were called *Exoterical*, or because it was known that He had used a *Double Doctrine*, would it not be doing a real Injury to the Character of Mr. *Warburton*? And should his Pupil, who understood, and could enter into the *Esoteric* Lectures, and their comprehensive Principles, express his Concern that such a Book was published, and that all others might now understand and know as much of that Matter as himself who had paid so much for his private Instruction. --- Would not this fully account for every Expression in *Alexander's* Letter, and for every Word in *Aristotle's* Answer?

Eighthly, Mr. *Warburton* contends, that
“ all the Legislators, Sages, Priests, and
“ Philosophers publicly taught and propa-
“ gated, and the People throughout the
“ whole Earth universally believed” a future
State of Rewards and Punishments. p 306,
and that this Notion was *for the good of Society*, and *therefore* only inculcated. Is it probable that *Aristotle* should instruct his young Pupil, that there was no such thing as a future State of Rewards and Punishments? Would this be one of those *ἀρετα*, *best things*, which *Alexander* was so fond of, and which he
blamed

blamed his Master for publishing? Would this have tended to make him *live well*, which was one great thing which he learnt from *Aristotle*? Or would not this have exposed *Aristotle* to the Charge of Atheism or Irreligion much better than what was objected to him on Account of his Hymn in honour of *Hermias*, had he instructed his young Pupil in what was contrary to "what all
" Legislators, Sages, Priests, Philosophers
" publicly taught?" And yet it is certain that *Aristotle* taught *Alexander* the *Scipians*, the *secret* Doctrines, the *Acroatics*, the *Esfoterics*.

Lastly, This "unreasonable licentious Paradox," a Title which Mr. *Warburton* has bestowed upon his "New Notion," p. 304. gives us an Idea of the old Philosophers as a Pack of strange People, *believing one thing and speaking another*: it treats them as gross Liars, so insincere, so dishonest, so imposing on the People, that were any Man to act such a Part *now*, he would be condemn'd as guilty of the wickedest *Craft*, and would be detested by all honest Men, as justly chargeable with Cunning, Hypocrisy, Dissimulation, and the Heighth of Wickedness

112 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

Wickedness and Immorality. Vices! which *Plato* and the Heathen Philosophers in general condemned, and from their Souls abhor'd! Mr. *Warburton* himself acknowledges this Practice not to be "altogether free from blame:" So soft is his Censure of so much Disingenuity in the antient Heathens; at the same time that he can lash with Severity all who happen not to be able to run full speed with him into the "Province of Paradox."

But since in fact the ancient Philosophers had this Double Doctrine, the One *Popular*, or *Exoteric*, the other *Secret* or *Esoteric*, let us consider what is said in Proof that the old Philosophers taught what they did *not* believe, or that "*they said one thing when they thought another.*" p. 307, or 333.

Several *general* Reasons are offered by Mr. *Warburton* in Evidence for this. As,

1. They all maintained that (*s*) every one should adhere to the Religion of his Country: and in Consequence of that, That it was lawful to deceive for the Public Good. To prove this, he quotes a Saying of *Scævola* the Ro-

(*s*) Expedire existimat falli in religione Civitates. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. iv. c. 10.

man Pontiff, That it was his Opinion, " that
" Cities should be deceived in Religion."
To this he adds, from St. *Austin*, another Ci-
tation. (1) "*Varro* speaking of Religions,
" says plainly, that there are many things
" true, which it is not useful to the People
" to know; there are likewise many things
" which, though they are false, yet it is ex-
" pedient that the People should not think
" them so." With these he cites a Passage of
Macrobius, to shew that the Philosophers
used this "*Licence of LYING for the Public*
" Good," upon these Subjects, "*concerning*
" the SOUL and the NATIONAL GODS," p.
309.---10. or p. 336.

I shall quote the Words of *Macrobius* pre-
sently: But I must observe,

1. That Mr. *Warburton* translates the
Words of *Scævola* not with that Accuracy
that he should: *Scævola* thought " that CI-
TIES should be deceived in Religion." Why
CITIES? Why not, upon his Notion,
Countries as well as *Cities*? He certainly
meant, what *Civitates* properly means,

(1) *Varro* de Religionibus loquens evidenter dicit, multa
esse vera, quæ vulgo scire non sit utile: multaque quæ tam-
etsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat. *Augus-
tine* de Civit. Dei. l. iv. c. 10.

whole *Communities*, whole *States*, all the People under any Government, or that were united in Society, and not *Cities*, which *Civitas* never signifies. But,

2. Let us admit, that all the Philosophers maintained, that *every one should adhere to the Religion of his Country*; and let us suppose too that they all thought it allowable to *deceive for the Public Good*. Will this Consequence follow from these Premises, therefore they all *disbelieved* a future State of proper Rewards and Punishments? It is granted by Mr. Warburton, that “ the People throughout the whole Earth universally believed a future State of Rewards and Punishments.” But as to the *Religion of any one’s Country*, That consisted in the paying a peculiar Worship to the patron God or Gods of the Country, and in observing the Rites practised in each State. The universal Belief of all Mankind, was quite a different thing from the particular *National Religion* of any Place; and therefore a future State made no part of a *National Religion*, as such, any where. *National Religion* was the particular Form of Religion of one People distinct from that of another; and in consequence

consequence, a Man might adhere to any particular *National* Religion, and yet not concern himself with what was not *National*, but Universal; *i. e.* in other Words, He might maintain that *every one should adhere to the Religion of his Country*, and yet not at all *disbelieve* a future State.

Scaevola and *Varro* “saw the gross Errors of the *National* Religions;” and yet they thought it right that the People should “every one adhere to the Religion of his *Country*”. They thought that the Gods established by Law should have a religious Regard paid to them: Perhaps too they thought the Priests and Sacrifices, and the usual way of Worship, should be kept up; that the People should be kept in awe by the Religion established by their Ancestors. They knew well enough, I suppose, the Folly and Absurdity of the several *Auguries*, and Divinations of Success from looking into the Entrails of Beasts, the Shape of Flames, and such like Superstitions. They might imagine a great many of the Gods received by the *Romans*, to have been mere Men, or to be mere Names or Qualities; which yet, since they were admitted, should be conti-

nued according to the Customs of the Country. I am much mistaken, if the Notions and Practices of many political Christians are not the same *in this respect* with the Notions and Practices of these political Heathens. No Innovations are to be made, no not for the sake of Truth; Popery, when once it is established, and People are accustomed to it, is to be adher'd to: Whatever Exceptions may be made, and however just, to certain received Dogma's or Practices, yet Alterations may create Disturbances. Such a Notion in *Varro* or in *Scaevola*, will fully account for every Expression they used on this Occasion: Nor ought any one to conclude from their Words, that these Men imagined *All* Religion to be false and groundless; or that, in particular, they *disbelieved* a future State of Rewards and Punishments: Since they might consistently think, that the main Points in Religion might be true, and yet some things in the *National* Religions to be false; or that it was not *tanti*, or would be wrong, to endeavour to remove the Peoples Prejudices in them.

From these general Words therefore, used by the *Roman* Pontif, and by *Varro*, no one
can

can infer, without further Light, any *particular* Point that they disbelieved. It is certain that they imagined some things to be wrong, but what they were in *particular*, we should be as much in the dark, if we had no further Intimations of their Sentiments, as if they had never declared any Suspicions or Doubts. And in consequence, to argue that the Philosophers *disbelieved*, in particular, a *future State of Rewards and Punishments*, because they thought it allowable to *say one thing and think another* in some Cases, is arguing a *posse ad esse*, from the Possibility to the Fact.

But we happen to know what were the particular Points which *Scævola* thought right to have the People be deceived in. *St. Austin* tells us, that (a) *Scævola* argued that there were Three sorts of Gods; one given us by the Poets, a second by the Philosophers, a third by the Civil Magistrate. The First sort was all trifling and idle: The Second was not

(u) Doctissimum Pontificem *Scævolam* disputasse tria genera tradita Deorum; unum a Poetis, alterum a Philosophis, tertium a principibus Civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse. — Secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeat aliqua quæ obfit populis nosse. — Quæ sunt autem illa quæ prolata in multitudinem nocent? Hæc inquit; non esse Deos *Herculem*, *Æsculapium*, *Castorem*, *Pollucem*: proditur enim a doctis, quod homines fuerint, & humana conditione defecerint. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. iv. c. 27.

118 The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of

*sui*ted to Governments, because there were some things which it might be prejudicial to the People to know. Now what are those things which, if laid open to the common People, would be prejudicial to them? Why, that Hercules, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, were not Gods; for learned Men tell us that they were Men. — We know from hence, what *Scævola* meant by saying, that “ People under Government were to be deceived in Religions.” Not that he *disbelieved* a future State, or that he had any Notion of its being right to say what he did not think upon that Subject of the Soul’s Immortality, and future Existence in Happiness or Misery. This Saying therefore of his is sadly misapplied by Mr. *Warburton*, when he brings it in to prove, that the Philosophers did not believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments; or that they had a *Double Doctrine* about this Matter. Since then we know the particular Notion that *Scævola* had in view, we can the easier pass on to *Macrobius*.

Macrobius tells us, “ on what Subjects the Philosophers used this Licence of lying for the Public Good,” He says it was

was (x) “ concerning the Soul and the National Gods.” *Scævola*’s Notion extended only to the Hero-Gods ; and these he would not have the People be undeceived in : But *Macrobius* had added another Subject, in which, Mr. *Warburton* says, they thought it lawful to lye for the Public Good, viz. the Soul ; and in consequence, that the double Doctrine extended to these two Points. It will be necessary to explain to you the Intent of *Macrobius*.

His Design in this Chapter is to shew, how Truth may be told under the Cover of a *Figment*, and in what particulars a Philosopher, strictly philosophising about divine Things, might fairly admit of *Fable*. *Colotes* had maintained that a Philosopher ought not to invent or to use *Fable* at all ; and therefore that *Plato*’s *Erus* was an Absurdity, and by parity of Reason so was *Scipio*’s Dream in *Tully*. Upon this he enquires, whether Philosophy either rejects all, or admits all, *Fable* ; and he shews (y) that if the manner

(x) Sciendum est tamen, non in omnem disputationem philosophos admittere fabulosa V E L Licita ; sed his uti solent cum vel de Anima, vel de aeriis æthereisve potestatibus, vel de cæteris Diis loquuntur. *Macrobius*. *Somn. Scip.* li. i. c. 2.

(y) Nam cum veritas argumento subest, solaque sit narratio fabulosa, non unus reperitur modus, per figmentum vera referendi. *ibid.*

of the Narration only be fabulous, and Truth is really told under such Story, it may be right; and that there is more than one way of telling Truth under a Figment, or the Veil of a Figment. This he explains by Instances, and then adds, that since Er, discovering what he had seen, or Scipio, telling what he had dreamt, give occasion for no Injury to the Point in hand, but the Discovery of sacred Things has all its Dignity preserved, Colotes ought to acquiesce and distinguish what is a fabulous Narration from Falshood; and then immediately follow the Words which Mr. Warburton has quoted. --- Sciendum est tamen, non in omnem disputationem Philosophos admittere fabulosa VEL licita; sed his uti solent, cum vel de anima, vel de aeriis ætheriisve potestatibus, vel de cæteris Deis loquuntur. But yet you must understand that Philosophers do not upon every Subject admit fabulous Narrations, EVEN such as are lawful on other Occasions, but they use them when they treat either concerning the Soul, or the aerial or ætherial Powers, or concerning the Gods. But when the Discourse is about the Great, the chief of all Gods --- or Mind --- when they speak of these, viz. the Great God, and Mind,
they

they never so much as touch upon any Thing fabulous.

This was the Occasion of these Words; and it is easy to observe,

1. That Mr. Warburton strangely misrepresents this Passage of *Macrobius*, and makes it speak what *Macrobius* never thought of; for there is not one Word about a *double Doctrine* concerning the *Soul*, or *national Gods*. He is speaking only concerning the Subjects whereon the Philosophers used *Fable*, or not; but not a Word concerning Points whereon they said one Thing, and believed another.

2. Mr. Warburton supposes that the covering Truth with the Veil of Fable is *Lying*, or *Lying for the Public Good*; concerning which there is not one Word in *Macrobius*; for he supposes real Truth to be cover'd over by *Fable*, and Fable to be a Manner of telling Truth.

3. Mr. Warburton has corrupted *Macrobius*, or very much misrepresented him, in order to make him speak what he wanted. He has changed in his last Edition those Words, *Fabulosa vel licita*, which signifies, *fabulous Narrations, even such as are lawful*,
or

or allowed, into *Fabulosa velut licita*. The Philosophers, says *Macrobius*, are allowed in many Cases to use *Fable*; but upon some Points they never admit *Fabulous* Narrations, even such as are allowed in other Cases. It is lawful to use *Fable*, when they speak of the Soul, or of Aerial Powers; *i. e.* to dress up their Discourses in *Fables*; but when they speak of the *Great God*, the first Cause of all, or of *Mind*, which the *Greeks* call *νῦν*, they never touch upon *Fable*. What is there in all this, which relates to the Philosophers using a Licence “of lying for the Public Good?” As if it were in any Sense *Lying*, to use *Fable*, or *Fabulous* Representations, such as *Plato's Er*, or *Scipio's Dream*.

Thus much to his *First* general Reason, that “the Antient Sages held it *allowable* “to *lie* for the public Good”, or “to say “one Thing, when they thought another.”

His *Second* general Reason advances a little further: It is to prove, that “the antient Sages did actually say one Thing, “when they thought another.” p. 310, or p. 336. When he first proposed what he intended to prove, p. 307, or 333, he expressed

expressed himself thus;--- *They* perpetually practised *what they thus professed to be lawful.* Surely this is directly contrary to the Proof of his *first* general Reason. For in that he had proved, that they never did this but upon *Two* Points, the *Soul*, and the *National Gods*; and in this he undertakes to prove, that they did it *perpetually.* Or again, when they spoke according to his own Meaning of the Word *Esoterically*, then they did *not speak one Thing, and think another*; and therefore they did not *perpetually* practise what they *thus professed to be lawful.*

But be his Meaning of the Words *perpetually* and *actually* what he pleases, his Proof of his Position is entirely taken from “ that general Practice in the Greek Philosophy of a Twofold Doctrine, the *External*, and the *Internal*, a *vulgar* and a *secret* one.” p. 336, or 310. It is true, that they had an *Esoteric* and an *Exoteric* Doctrine; which Mr. *Warburton* here owns to have been “ but one and the same that “ was handled thus differently, *viz. popularly* and *scientifically.*” And is it owned at last, that the *Esoteric* and *Exoteric* Doctrine

trine was *one and the same*, “only handled differently, popularly and scientifically”? Was the Esoteric Doctrine no more *believed*, than he says the Exoteric was? If they were *one and the same*, and the *handling* them differently gave Occasion to the Distinction of Names, then no Argument can be drawn from a Doctrine’s being Exoteric, that it was *not believed*, more than there can from its being Esoteric, that it was believed. What Proof can now be produced,—that in the *twofold Doctrine* they *actually said one Thing, and believed another*? What Instance is or can be produced of this Fact? What Declarations of any of the Philosophers can imply that such was their Practice? Under this Head some Thing ought to have been produced in Confirmation of this Fact, *more* than was done under the last Head: But instead of that, even *less* is done: Here is not so *much* as the Instance of *Fable* or *Allegory* produced. But *instead* of a plain *Fact*, that those who maintained the Double Doctrine *actually* or *perpetually* said one Thing, and believed another; He has only given us “a View of the Progress of the
“ *Greek*

“ *Greek Philosophy* ;” which, whether true or false, is nothing to the Point in Hand.

His *Third* general Reason is as little to the Point, and if it be made good, it will not prove, that the Philosophers taught the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments without believing it. His Reason is stated thus;— “ the Antient Sages “ *practised* the double Doctrine in the Point “ in Question.” Thus he speaks positively and exprefs, p. 307, or 333. But when p. 319, or 346, he comes to prove this very Assertion, How artfully are the Terms changed ? instead of saying, That “ they “ *practised* it with Regard to the very “ Doctrine in Question”, which are his Words in the first Place, he only says, that the antient Sages SEEMED TO PRACTISE *the double Doctrine in the Point in Question*. The double Doctrine, as I have shewn, did not consist in *saying one Thing and believing another* : If therefore the antient Sages practised the *double Doctrine* in the Case of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, Mr. *Warburton* will fall short still of the Point to be proved, unless the double Doctrine be proved to consist in the Philosophers *not believing*

126 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

believing what they taught; whereas he has observed, that the double Doctrine consisted only in a POPULAR OR SCIENTIFIC Hand-ling any Point.

When, by such *general* Reasons as these, Mr. Warburton had thought he had abated the Readers Prejudices against his new No-tion, he descends to *Particulars*: And here we may expect to have plain *Facts*. But does he produce one single Instance of *e. g.* *Plato's not believing what he says* about a future State of Rewards and Punishments? No: He produces indeed a Saying or two of his, p. 351, or 383. "*That there are*
"*some Truths it is not fit the People should*
"*know.---That the World is not to be entrust-*
"*ed with the true Notion of God*; and that
"*in his Laws, which were of the Exoteric*
"*Kind, he defends the popular Opinions of*
"*the Gods*; but in his *Cratylus*, which was
"*of the Esoteric Kind*, he laughed at the
"*Antients for worshipping the Sun and*
"*Stars as Gods.*"

Let this be all granted: Would Mr. Warburton from hence infer, that *Plato* ac-tually *disbelieved* the Existence of God, or that he did not believe, that a Soul per-vaded

vaded the Universe? Let him speak for the *popular Opinions* at some Times, and even laugh at them at other Times, all that will follow is, that *Plato* disbelieved the *popular Opinions* of the *Gods*, not that he disbelieved the Being of a *God*: And so in the other Case, supposing that he did not believe the *popular Opinions* of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, that there were Three Judges in *Hades*, &c. it will not follow that he did *not believe* a future State of real proper Rewards and Punishments.

Plato thought there *were some Truths which it was not fit the People should know*: e. g. that the World is not to be entrusted with the true Notion of God. *Scævola* in like manner thought, that the People were not to be entrusted with the Secret, that *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, were *not Gods*, but had been mortal Men. In this Point then they complied with popular Prejudices, believing the Existence of *God* and his Providence, tho' not believing the *popular Opinions* of the National Gods. And so in the other Case, they complied with popular Notions of *Hades*, and its Judges, and its Rivers, &c. believing the
Reality

Reality of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, tho' not the *popular Prejudices* upon that Subject. If Mr. *Warburton* will call this, *believing one Thing, and saying another*, or *lying* for the Public Good; if speaking to the People, and complying with their Ideas, and not to strict philosophical Truth, in *Morals* or *Politics*, be thus to be branded, I question whether every Man's Discourses, taken strictly and literally, must not have the infamous Mark of *Lying* put upon them.

But Mr. *Warburton* has assigned several *particular* Reasons to shew, that *Plato* did not believe this Notion of future Rewards and Punishments. As

1. "The *Platonic* Philosophy being *entirely Pythagorean* in the Point in Question, and this latter rejecting the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, we might fairly conclude them Both under the same Predicament."

p. 353, or 385. Now Mr. *Warburton* himself hath shewn, that the *Platonic* Philosophy is *not entirely Pythagorean* in this very Point, as will appear presently.

2. He

2. He tells us; " That *Plato* has argued
" much for the Eternity; or the Immorta-
" lity of the Soul. But to know what Sort
" of Immortality he meant,--- his Argu-
" ments were natural and metaphysical,
" fetch'd from the *Essence* and *Qualities* of
" the Soul, which therefore concluded only
" for its *Permanency*, and this *he really or*
" *certainly believed.*" *ibid.* He then is
confessed to believe the *Permanency*, Eter-
nity, Immortality of the Soul, from Argu-
ments drawn from its *Essence* and *Qualities*.
Now are not these the Topics urged in his
Phædon; and his Tenth Book of *Laws*?
How is it then that *these* Books are reckoned
by Mr. *Warburton* *Exoterical*, since it seems
they contained Doctrines about the future
State of the Soul, which *Plato* *believed* to
be true? Or is not this a more conclusive
Argument, that these Books were *Esoteri-*
cal, than can be produced to prove them
in his Sense, *Exoterical*? And if he believ-
ed the Soul to be *immortal* or permanent;
from Arguments taken from its *Essence* and
Qualities, what Sort of Proof is this, that
He did not believe a State of proper Re-
wards and Punishments? It is, or may be
K allowed,

allowed, that *Plato* did not use *Moral Arguments* to prove the Eternity of the Soul; but whilst he urged Natural and Metaphysical ones, which proved its future Existence, and he commonly spoke of the Rewards and Punishments it was to undergo in a future State; and this in the same Books; a Man must distinguish very subtilly to say, that one Paragraph is *Exoterical*, and *not believed*, another is *Esoterical*, fully demonstrative, and scientific, and *fully believed* by its Author. Especially if the Passages *not believed* make the *Book* to be *Exoterical*; the Passages *believed* have the same Right to make the same Book *Esoterical*.

The Third Reason is, what Mr. *Warburton* must principally depend on. It begins thus,--- "As the inventing Reasons for
 " the Immortality of the Soul, was one
 " Cause of his [*Plato's*] being esteemed the
 " grand Patron of this Belief, so another
 " was *his famous Refinement* (for it was in-
 " deed HIS) of the natural *Metempsychosis*,
 " the peculiar Doctrine of the *Pythagoreans*." p. 354, or 386. Now,

Is not this a direct Contradiction to the
First Reason here produced, which asserted
 the

the *Platonic* Philosophy to be ENTIRELY *Pythagorean* in the Point in Question? Or how did *Plato* make his famous *Refinement*, one that was indeed HIS, and yet continue ENTIRELY in the same Notion with *Pythagoras*? Or was his famous *Refinement* of the natural *Metempsychosis*, entirely *Pythagorean*, when he added a *Moral Designation* to it? For thus Mr. *Warburton* goes on, “ *Plato* on receiving this Notion [*viz.* the Natural Metempsychosis] from his Master, gave it this *Additional* Improvement, that these Changes and Transitions were the PURGATIONS of IMPURE MINDS, unfit by Reason of the *Pollutions* they had contracted, to re-ascend the Place from whence they came, and rejoin that Substance from whence they were discerped; and consequently that pure, immaculate Souls were exempt from this Transmigration.” *ibid.*

This then was *Plato's* Esoteric Doctrine, and Mr. *Warburton* confesses, “ that this seemed to have something of a moral Designation in it, which his Master's had not.” The natural Metempsychosis was, that the successive Transition of the Soul

“ into other Bodies was physical and necessary, and exclusive of all *moral Designation* whatever.” *Plato* gave this an *additional Improvement*, by making the Transition of the Soul to be in order to a *Purgation*: that impure Souls, by Reason of the Pollutions they had contracted, could not re-ascend the Place from whence they came. Now,

1. This State of *Purgation* was a State to which *impure* Souls were condemned; and consequently was a State of future Punishment. It is not to the Purpose, to enquire in what the *Punishment* of *wicked* Souls according to *Plato* consisted; or what were the particular Rewards, which they might enjoy: The only Point that here is in Debate, is, Whether *Plato* believed *any* future State of Rewards and Punishments at all? It is plain, that he added something to, or made an Improvement upon the *natural* Scheme of *Pythagoras*, and so far as he added to his Master's Notion, so far his Notions were *not entirely Pythagorean*. Now either *Plato's* Scheme had no more *Moral Designation* in it than *Pythagoras's* Scheme had, or it had some *Moral Designation*. If it had none,

none, what was the *Refinement*, what was the *additional Improvement*, grounded on *Impurities* contracted, *Pollutions*, *Immoralities*, *Misbehaviour*, which caused such Souls to be incapable to re-ascend to the Place they came from? If it had some *Moral Designation*, then the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments was consistent with *Plato's* Scheme, and might be believed by him.

But it seems, both *Plato* and *Pythagoras*,
“ agreed in excluding the Notion of *all*
“ future State of Rewards and Punish-
“ ments.” *ibid.*

This should not be asserted without good Proof. *Pythagoras's* Notion was, “ That
“ there was a necessary and natural Tran-
“ sition of the Soul into Bodies, exclusive of
“ *all moral* Considerations whatever.” p. 346,
“ or 378. This was peculiarly his; an
“ *Esoteric* Doctrine, delivered to be believ-
“ ed.” *Plato's* Addition was, “ that *im-*
“ *pure* Souls passed into other Bodies by
“ Way of *Purgation*, as *unfit* to re-ascend
“ to the Place from whence they came, by
“ Reason of *Pollutions*.” Now if *pure, im-*
maculate Souls *immediately* re-ascended to

the Place from whence they came, and *polluted* Souls were obliged to transmigrate till they were *purged*; and this on Account of the *Pollutions* contracted, whilst they informed the human Body,--- then there must be a Distinction made betwixt Good and Evil Men after they die: And this is what is meant by a future State of Rewards and Punishments; and this must be of a *moral* Designation. If the Soul of *Cain* (*e. g.*) is condemned to animate the Body of a Lion, Wolf, or any other wild Beast, and to pass from one to another for a thousand, or ten thousand Years, or longer, or shorter, on account of the *Pollutions* it had contracted, whilst it informed the Body of *Cain*;--- This is a *Punishment* supposed to be proportioned to the Wickedness of *Cain*: And if *Abel's* Soul, pure and immaculate, *presently* ascended to its Place of Happiness, This was His *Reward* for his Virtue and Goodness.

Should you say, that this Transmigration and Re-ascent were *natural* and *necessary*, exclusive of all *moral* Considerations whatever, this would be absurd; because the *Pollutions* contracted thro' the immoral Behaviour of Persons here, make a Difference between

between impure and pure Souls. Those became *unfit* to re-ascend to the Place from whence they came, because of the Vices they had been guilty of: These were *fit* to re-ascend, because they had contracted no Vices, and therefore wanted no Purgation: Or if any had contracted but a *little Pollution*, he was not to be continued in a State of Purgation so long, as if he had been very much polluted. The *Unfitness* therefore, or the *Fitness* to re-ascend, depended on the *Immorality*, or the *Morality* of the Man. When therefore *Plato* made this additional Improvement to, or Refinement upon *Pythagoras's* Scheme, He must believe a *Moral* Designation, or else he did not see the immediate Use or Design of his own Improvement.

Mr. *Warburton's* fourth Argument is this.
“ *Plato* in his Writings much inculcates
“ the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards
“ and Punishments, --- and with so much
“ Seriousness, as shews he *had a Mind* to
“ be believed. But did he himself believe
“ them? We may be assured he did not.”

p. 354, or 387. Why? “ For being the
“ most spiritualized of the Philosophers,

“ had he really *believed* a future State of
 “ Rewards and Punishments, he would
 “ have *refined* and *purified* it, as he did the
 “ Doctrine of the Eternity of the Soul,
 “ *which he certainly believed.*” This Argument goes entirely upon this Supposition, that whatever *Plato believed*, he *refined* and *purified*. Mr. Warburton goes on: “ But
 “ he has as good as told us, what he
 “ thought of *it* [a future State of Rewards
 “ and Punishments] in his *Epinomis*, where
 “ Writing of the Condition of a good and
 “ wise Man after Death, he says, *Of whom*,
 “ whether I be in Jest, or in Earnest, I
 “ constantly affirm, &c.” p. 355. Here he stops. What now is it that *Plato* constantly affirms? Why? (x) That *when a wise Man dies, He shall be happy, blessed, most wise*; and, (y) *that it is not possible but for very few Men to become perfectly happy and blessed.*

(x) Ἐυδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ σωτάτον ἄμα καὶ μακάριον.
 Plat. *Epinomis*.

(y) Ὡς οὐ δυνατόν ἀνθρώποις τελέως μακαρίους τε καὶ
 εὐδαίμονι γενέσθαι πλὴν ὀλίγοις. *ibid*.

The whole Passage is thus; “Ὀν καὶ διμυρίζομαι παίδων
 καὶ πεδάζων ἄμα, ὅτε θανάτῳ τίς τῶν τοιούτων τὴν αὐτὴν
 μοῖραν ἀναπλήσει, σχεδὸν ἑάνπερ ἀποθανόν ἢ, μήτε με-
 θέξῃν ἔτι πολλῶν τότε καθάπερ νῦν αἰδήσεων, μιᾶς τε
 [1. δὲ] μοῖρας μετεληφύλα μόναν καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἓνα γεγο-
 νῶτα, εὐδαίμονα τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ σωτάτην ἄμα καὶ μακάριον.
 Plat. *Epin.* sub finem.

This

This is what *Plato* here says; and can any one infer from these Words, that *Plato* did not believe a future State of *Rewards* at least?

But let us examine this Passage of *Plato*, since it is produced at large in the third Edition, p. 388. Mr. *Warburton* translates it thus. *Of whom [viz. the wise and good Man] both in Jest, and in Earnest, I constantly affirm, that when such a one shall have finished his destined Course by Death, he shall at his Dissolution be stript of those many Senses which he here enjoy'd, and then only participate of one simple Lot and Condition. And, of MANY as he has here, being become ONE, he shall be happy, wise and blessed.*

My first Objection to Mr. *Warburton's* Translation is, that he renders *παίζων ἢ ἀσπάζων ἑμαυτὸν*, whether I be in Jest, or in Earnest, or as it is since corrected, both in Jest, and in Earnest. *Plato* never speaks of such Subjects as the future State of good Men, in Jest; nor is that the Meaning of the Phrase, *παίζων ἢ ἀσπάζων*, in *Plato*.

We see when *Parmenides* was going to treat of the most abstract and difficult Subject, the most Philosophical that is, I think,
in

in all *Plato*, he says, he was going *παιζμα-
τίζου πασάν παιζεν*: Not to talk in *Jest*; but
what we should call, to *play a difficult
Game*, to undertake a hard Task. *παιζων* &
παιδίζων is a Manner of Expression, which
Plato frequently uses; and he means by it
no more than *constantly*, at all Times.

In his first Book of *Laws*, he says, *He
that would become a good Man, ought strait
from his Childhood to meditate and exercise
himself constantly, παιζοντι τε & παιδίζοντα, in
every Thing that relates to his Business, be it
what it will. Not in Jest, but at all Times,
even in his Relaxations, Plat. p. 643. So again
he uses the Substantives, ἐν τῇ παιδικῇ & ἐν πα-
ιδείᾳ, not for Jest and Earnest, but for regu-
lar Constancy and Steadiness, ibid. p. 647.
In another Place in the same Book of *Laws*,
speaking of the common Computations or
Feastings in *Crete* and *Lacedæmon*, and the
Consequences of them, that they had per-
verted natural Pleasures, he adds, εἴτε παιζοντα
εἴτε παιδίζοντα δεῖ ἐννοεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐννοήσον ὅτι,
&c. Whether one ought to consider these
Things with Exactness, or less carefully, you
must understand, &c. i. e. you must at all times
understand, p. 636. Now tho' *παιζεν* may
in*

in itself signify *to jest*, yet when it is put in this Construction, with the other Word, *αἰσθεῖν*, it does not signify, *in jest*, in Opposition to *Earnest*, but the Phrase implies a regular, uniform Constancy in any Thing. And this is what *Plato* here means, that he at all Times constantly maintained and proved by the strongest Arguments, that when any good or wise Man shall finish his destin'd Course by Death, He shall "at his
 " *Dissolution be stripped of those many Senses*
 " *which he here enjoy'd.*" As soon as he dies, he shall not then any longer partake of many Senses as he does here, *οὐτε μετέξεν ἐτι πολλῶν τότε καθάπερ νῦν αἰσθήσεων*. He shall not any longer partake of many Senses, which are but the first Principles or Entrances to Reason, but having partook of One only Lot or Condition, and being as it were made one out of many, he will be for the future, happy, most wise, and blessed.

To understand this, I must observe, that *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*, *Plato's* Master, had distinguished very accurately in a set Discourse betwixt *Ἀἰσθησις* and *Νοῦς*, Sense and Mind. A Fragment of it is still remaining

maining in *Stobæus*. "*Mind*, says he, is
 " the Judge of the most valuable Things :
 " *Sense* of the most useful; for *Sense* was
 " made for the Sake of the Body, and to
 " serve That, but *Mind* was made to re-
 " gulate even these : *Mind* is the Principle
 " of Knowledge : *Sense* of Opinion ; *Sense*
 " relates only to such Things as are *Sen-*
 " *sible* : *Mind* to what is *intelligible*. What
 " is *sensible* is moved and changed, and
 " never stable, and therefore is found to be
 " more and less, better and worse : but
 " *Mind*, being concerned only with *Intel-*
 " *ligibles*, is never changed. *Mind* is in-
 " divisible, *Sense* not so." This, and a
 good deal more, is found in *Archytas*, as
 the Fragment is preserved in *Stobæus*, Ec-
 log. l. 1. p. 92. No wonder therefore
 that *Plato* says, that we shall in a future
 State be stripped of our *many Senses*, and by
 that Means become *most wise*, and *blest*, and
happy, since These [*many Senses*] being adapt-
 ed to our present Circumstances only, and the
 Service of the Body, will cease at our
 Death, and a more noble Principle will take
 Place, by Means of which we shall be-
 come

come *most wise*. The Good Man therefore shall not *partake of many Senses*, as now he does ; but being stripped of them, and *having partook of One only Lot or Condition*, and being as it were made One out of Many, he will be for the future *happy, most wise, and blessed*.

What Foundation is here for the Imagination that *Plato* " here *secretly* intimated, " that when he was *in Jest*, he affirmed " the future Happiness of good Men in a " peculiar and distinct Existence, which is " the popular Notion of a future State : " But when *in Earnest*, that that Existence " was not peculiar or distinct, but a *common* " Life without particular Sensations." p. 388. *Plato* never intimates, that he maintained Two distinct Notions, *one in Jest*, and the other *in Earnest* : But he affirms, that he maintained *One* single Point, the self-same Notion concerning the future State of a Good Man, constantly, at all Times, without any Variation, that such a Man would become *most Wise, and Happy*. What *Tully* says of *Socrates* is true of *Plato* ; *qui non tum hoc, tum illud, ut in plerisque ; sed idem dicebat semper, animos hominum esse divinos*

142 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

divinos, iisque, cum e corpore excessissent, reditum ad cælum patere, optimoque et justissimo cuique expeditissimum, quod idem Scipioni videbatur. Cic. de Amicit. He did not say sometimes one Thing, sometimes another, as many do, but he always said the SAME Thing, that the Souls of Men were divine, and when they went out of the Body, they returned to Heaven: and that every very Good and Just Man went thither without any Difficulty. Scipio had the very same Notion.

2. The many *Senses* or *Sensations*, αἰσθήσεις, which here a good and wise Man has, are such as are inconsistent with, or contrary to his being perfectly happy, and perfectly wise. He must therefore be deprived of them, as soon as ever he dies; and then he is to become happy, and most wise. The many *Sensations* therefore, which we have here, will be instantly removed, and then we shall partake of *One only Condition*, viz. *Happiness*, free from that Mixture of Evils which here we partake of, and *perfect Wisdom*. What has this to do with the Good Man's "Resolution into the τὸ εἶναι"? Or is it not equally true, supposing the
good

good Man to continue in a separate, distinct Existence?

3. *Plato* goes on, and adds, $\chi' \epsilon\kappa \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\acute{\nu} \epsilon\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\acute{\sigma}\eta\alpha$, which *Mr. Warburton* says may signify, "*that of his many Sensations he bath only one left, the feeling Happiness,*" which is the true and only consistent Sense of *Plato*; or else, "that from being in the Number of many Individuals of the same Species, he is become One, by being join'd to, and united with the Universal Nature," *ibid.* This last cannot be the Meaning of the Words, because the Wise and Good Man, by being united with the Universal Nature, would not by that become happy, most wise, blessed, but would loose that Wisdom, which he had already. Or if he is supposed, when united to the universal Nature, to acquire more Happiness, as *Plato* says he will, and to be MORE WISE than he was before; then, if he retains his individual Knowledge, and his Wisdom and Happiness are much improved, here is a proper State of future Reward; the very contrary to which this Passage is produced to prove. If, by being absorbed in universal Nature, the Good Man loses

loses all Consciouſness, HE does not become *most Wise*; but the Person, the HE, is lost; or swallowed up in the τὸ ἕν. HE is not *more wise*, but something compounded of all Good and Wise Men; a different Person made up of all these, becomes most wise; which is contrary to *Plato's* Sense. But, if he means, that the several distinct, individual Consciouſnesses of Good Men continue still, and are improved, then here is a proper State of Reward, which *Plato* really meant.

As I am here speaking concerning this Passage in the *Epinomis*, I would observe one Thing further.

Plato's Books of *Laws* are (it seems) affirmed by Mr. *Warburton* to be *Exoterical*; but the *Epinomis* to be an *Esoteric* Treatise. If this be so; I ask, how comes *Plato* in his eighth Book of *Laws*, where he treats of *Sacrifices*, to do it so slightly, as if he disapproved of that Practice, and this in an *Exoteric* Book: And yet in his *Epinomis*, which is an *Esoteric* Book, he advises to *keep up to the Customs of one's Country*? Now just the Reverse of this should have been his Conduct; and he should have advised to keep up the Custom
of

of one's Country in an *Exoteric* Book, and to have treated of Sacrifices *slightly* or not at all in an *Esoteric*. But this by the by.

Mr. *Warburton's* 5th and last Argument is, "that the most intelligent of the Antients regarded what *Plato* said of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as said in the *Exoteric* way to the People, and not believed by himself." p. 355. or 388. To confirm this, he cites *Chrysippus*, *Strabo* and *Celsus*; not one of which in terms, or directly, affirms, that *Plato* did not believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments, or even says that he spoke on this Subject in what Mr. *Warburton* means by the *Exoteric* way to the People." These are Consequences drawn by Mr. *Warburton* from their Words: and such Consequences as any one may safely deny. *Chrysippus*, as Mr. *Warburton* says, "condemned *Plato's* wrong Judgment, not his wrong Belief, in imagining such childish Terrors could be useful to the Cause of Virtue." Because He condemned his wrong Judgment in using such Terrors as he did to serve the cause of Virtue, therefore Mr. *Warburton* concludes that *Chrysippus* thought that *Plato* did not

at all *believe* a future State of Rewards and Punishments. Suppose any one were to condemn Mr. *Warburton's* wrong Judgment, for insisting on the Demonstration he brings for the Divine Legation of *Moses*, would it be right to infer that such a one thought he did not believe the Divine Legation at all?

Strabo too says, " that the *Indian Brak-*
 " *mans* invented Fables, as *Plato* did, con-
 " cerning the *Immortality* of the Soul and a
 " future Judgment." *ibid.* Now Mr. *War-*
burton owns that *Plato* really believed the
Immortality of the Soul, which yet *Strabo*
 finds fault with as much as he does with the
future Judgment. *Strabo's* Testimony therefore
 is nothing to the purpose, since in fact *Plato*
 believed the *Immortality of the Soul*, as is con-
 fessed: And as to the other Point, it does
 not imply that *Plato* did not believe the State
 of future Rewards and Punishments itself,
 whether he believed the *Fables* or not.

As to *Celsus*, " he owns that what *Plato*
 " has said about the future State, is not ea-
 " sy for every one to find out : That you must
 " be able to understand what he meant by
 " the Soul's inability and sluggishness to get up
 " to the highest Region, and, what is the true
 Heaven

“ *Heaven and true Light.*” But how does this prove, that *Celsus* thought that *Plato* did not believe a proper future State of Rewards and Punishments?

And now I am speaking of *Plato*, you’ll excuse me if I examine Mr. *Warburton*’s Account of a remarkable Passage in the *Gorgias*, which has given him no small Trouble, all arising from a Mistake of his own. His Translation is this. (2) “ There
“ was this Law concerning Mortals in the
“ time of *Saturn*, and is now always infor-
“ ced by the Gods, that he who hath lived
“ a just and pious Life, should at his Death
“ be carried into the Islands of the Blessed,
“ and there possess all kinds of Happiness,
“ *untainted with the Evils of Mortality*: but
“ that he who had lived *unjustly and im-*
“ *piously* should be thrust into a Place of
“ Punishment, the Prison of divine Justice,
“ called *Tartarus*. Now the Judges with

(2) Ἦν οὖν ὁ νόμος ὁδε περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ, καὶ αὖ
καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς. Τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δίκαιως τὸν
βίον διεληθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων
νῆσους ἀπὸντα, οἰκᾶν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν, τὸν
δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθίως, εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως τε καὶ δίκης δεσμω-
τήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλεῖσιν, ἵεναι. Τούτων δὲ δικαστὰς
ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ; καὶ ἐπὶ νῦν; τῷ Διὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, ζών-
τες ἦσαν ζῶντων, ἐμνήνη ἡμέρᾳ δικάζοντες, ἢ μέλλουσιν τε-
λευτᾶν; κακῶς ἢ αἰ δίκῃ ἐκείνοντο. *Plato. Gorgias. p. 523.*

148 *The DOUBLE DOCTRINE of*

“ whom the Execution of this Law was in-
 “ trusted, were, in the time of *Saturn*, and
 “ under the Infancy of *Jove’s* Government,
 “ living Men, sitting in Judgment on the
 “ living, *and decreeing and appointing the very*
 “ *Day, on which every one should die.* This
 “ gave occasion to iniquitous and perverse
 “ Judgments.” p. 209, or 226.

How hard is Mr. *Warburton* put to it, to account for some Passages in this Fable, arising from *the Judges passing Sentence in Life; and PREDICTING the Day of the Criminal’s Death?* He tells us of an old *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, p. 214. and then tells us, that
 “ by PREDICTING *the Day of the Criminal’s*
 “ *Death, was meant the Infliction of a Capital Punishment; and by Prometheus’s taking the Gift from these Judges was meant;*
 “ *the Civil Magistrate’s Abolition of the Jurisdiction.*” *ibid.* What will not Fancy at this rate get over?

First, He tells us, that those which were carried into the Islands of the Blessed, upright and virtuous Men, there possess all kinds of Happiness, *untainted with the Evils of Mortality.* *Plato’s* Words are ἐκτὸς κακῶν, *out of the reach of Evils; not of Mortality, but of all Evils whatever.* The Fable supposes

poses the Souls of Men to live in a future State, and to subsist in either Happiness or Misery. Now good Men here were to be happy hereafter, not “untainted with the “Evils of Mortality,” but to *dwell in all Happiness out of the reach of all Evils.*

2. There is not one Word in *Plato* about living Men *decreeing and appointing the very Day on which every one should die.* *Plato's* Words are, Τέτων δὲ δικασαὶ — ζῶντες ἥσαν ζώντων, ἐκείνη ἡμέρα δικάζοντες, ἣ μέλλοιεν τελευτᾶν. *The Judges of THESE [viz. who had lived either well or ill] were living Men sitting in Judgment on living Men, upon the very Day on which they were to die.* Not, DECREEING and APPOINTING the very Day on which every one should die; but sitting in Judgment and passing Sentence upon the Day in which Men were to die.

This Mistake was a little amended in the latter Edition, and we have it thus, --- *living Men, sitting in Judgment on the living, and decreeing and appointing their Abodes on the very Day in which every one should die.* You will say perhaps, that the Mistake was owing to the Press, and those Words --- *their Abodes* --- were casually dropt. But how then come we by those Phrases which are

left in both Editions of *the Judges passing Sentence in Life, and PREDICTING the Day of the Criminal's Death*, p. 213. Third Edition, p. 231? If they had the Power of *decreeing and appointing* the very Day on which every one should die, they could easily *predict* the Day of the Criminal's Death. But if they were intrusted with the Power of *decreeing and appointing* only *the Abodes* of Men in the other Life, what has this to do with PREDICTING the *Day* of the Criminals *Death*? But,

3. There is not a Word in *Plato* about PREDICTING the Day of the Criminal's Death. The Judges did indeed *foreknow* it, *οὐ γὰρ προῖσασιν*; and the Story says, that these Judges passed their Judgment *on the very Day* of Death. But they neither *predicted*, nor *decreed*, nor *appointed* it; nor does *Plato* use any Word that implies such PREDICTION. The Judges at that Time had, as the Story says, a certain *Foreknowledge* of the Day when every Man was to die: And as they had, and were to exercise a Jurisdiction either to acquit or to condemn a Man, they met with great Difficulties from false Witnesses, who were ready to testify in favour of the
Rich

Rich and Powerful: Or there were Prejudices, which warped the Judges themselves, arising from Beauty, or some kind or other of real or imaginary Perfection. To put a Stop therefore to wrong Judgments arising from these and such like Causes, *Jupiter* resolves to interpose: and first he puts a Stop to Men's *foreknowing* the Day of any one's Death, not to their *predicting* it, for that was foreign to the Purpose. The Judges were by their Charter to judge *on the Day* when any one was to die, and only upon *that*. When therefore their *Foreknowledge* of that Day was taken from them, their Jurisdiction must necessarily cease. But,

4. Suppose these Judges could and did PREDICT the *Day* of every Man's Death, by a strange Stretch of Fancy, Mr. *Warburton* interprets this thus --- *If this be so, then by predicting the Day of the Criminal's Death was meant the Infliction of a Capital Punishment.* To understand this we must go a little back, and look into a Relation of *Diodorus Siculus*. He tells us, "*it was a Custom in Egypt for Judges to be appointed at every one's Interment to examine his past Life, and to condemn and acquit according*

“ to the Evidence. These Judges were of the
 “ Priesthood,” --- and it seems “ they grew
 “ very partial and iniquitous in process of
 “ time.” This, says Mr. Warburton, “ I
 “ suppose gave Birth to the general Fable.
 “ But there is one Circumstance which this
 “ does not so clearly account for, namely
 “ of the Judges *passing Sentence in Life and*
 “ PREDICTING the Day of the Criminal’s
 “ Death.” It is true it does not at all ac-
 count for, what is not in *Plato*, nor any
 where else. See now how strongly Imagi-
 nation will work to get over an imagined
 Difficulty. “ To understand these things
 “ we must conclude, what is *very probable*,
 “ that the Custom mentioned by *Diodorus*
 “ was only the Succession of a more early
 “ one, where the *Priests* judged the living
 “ Criminal for those Crimes that the *Civil*
 “ *Tribunal* could not so conveniently take
 “ notice of:” This you see is mere *Inven-*
 tion to get rid of the Difficulty. And then
 follow the Words — “ if this be so, then
 “ by *predicting the Day of the Criminal’s*
 “ *Death* was meant the *Infliction of a capital*
 “ *Punishment.*” First, he invents “ an
 “ Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with coactive
 “ Power,

“Power;” and then, that *coactive Power* extended to the Power of *Life and Death*; and then this imaginary *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* gave Birth to a *Fable* wherein no mention is made or hinted at about *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, or *Priests*; and lastly what is *supposed* to be in the *Fable*, and is not, about PREDICTING *the Day of a Criminal's Death*, means, *the inflicting capital Punishment*, which likewise is not in the *Fable*, nor any thing similar to it.

One would think this *Fable*, or fabulous Covering, was very natural and easy: It was to tell us that all Men were accountable to God for all their Actions; and that he would not be influenced, as Men too often are, by Riches and Grandeur in favour of the Powerful, nor by Calumny and Contempt, against the Poor and Miserable: That our Souls do not die with our Bodies, but are to be rewarded and punished hereafter: That the Good and Virtuous here are to dwell in Happiness, free from all Evils: That the Vicious and Impious are to be thrust into a Place of Punishment. This might be dress'd up in *Fable*, or *Emblem*, or *Allegory*; and nothing could be more natural and easy than the Story, as it lies in *Plato*. But when this is supposed

supposed to be founded on an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with coactive Power; and an Abolition of such Power by the Civil Magistrate, it is all incoherent, and all the Symmetry and Beauty of the Fable is lost.

5. What Words in *Plato* can be so perverted as to imply that he meant the Civil “Magistrate’s Abolition of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction?” Why it seems the Fable goes on thus — *living Men passed Judgment on living Men on the Day they were to die, upon Men that had handsome Bodies, that were of high Birth, that had great Riches, and powerful Relations. These things corrupted the Judges, and made them pass upon such as had wicked Souls a wrong Judgment: for when the Judgment was to be, many Witnesses came for them, and witnessed for their good Life, however wicked they had been. Upon Complaint of this, Jupiter resolved to correct this Evil, and would not have either Judges or Judgment in this World, but in the next; where a Soul could see a Soul, and both Judge and Criminal were stripp’d of all Disguise. He therefore in the first Place orders Prometheus to take away the Judges Prescience of the Day of Men’s Death which they then had.*

Let

Let us now suppose the Story which *Diodorus* tells us, and which I have just now mentioned, to be true. What now is Mr. *Warburton's* Application? Why --- "If this be so" --- then by *Prometheus's* taking away the Gift [of Prescience] from them [i. e. from the Judges mentioned in *Plato's* Fable] is meant, the Civil Magistrate's Abolition of the [Ecclesiastical] Jurisdiction. He might as well have said, King *Henry VIII's* Abolition of the *Pope's* Supremacy. For the Fable relates as much to the one as the other.

Lastly, His Interpretation of *Virgil's* --- *falso damnati crimine Mortis* --- for the sake of which all this seems to be introduced, is as extraordinary as the Interpretation of *Plato's* Fable. He says, it does not signify "Men falsely condemned, but wrongly judged" whether to *Acquittal* or *Conviction*. For "Condemnation being oftneft the Sentence of Justice, the greater part is put for the whole figuratively." p. 212. or 230. That is, to condemn, may be put for to acquit: by the same Figure to hang a Man too, may be put for to reprieve or pardon, because Hanging is oftner the Sentence of Justice than

than Reprieving or Pardoning. How would one Instance, from any Author, of this Sense of the Word *condemn*, put for to *free*, or *set at Liberty*, have cleared up this Matter? Could not one Author have supplied an Instance, where *damnare* is put for *liberare*?

Mr. *Warburton* knows too well, not to be imposed on by any Mistakes, which a less learned Man might possibly have been led into by some Grammarians and Critics.

But enough of this. If I have shewn Mr. *Warburton* to have been mistaken in this Point of the *double* Doctrine of the Antients, great Part of his *Third* Book will be nothing to the Purpose.

I design in the Third Place to consider what this Learned Writer has undertaken to shew about the Nature of the *Jewish Theocracy*, and its *Duration*. Perhaps you may think that I might as well have left this Subject, till his next Volume shall appear, since in *That* He proposes to treat more largely upon this Head. But Objections to what He has already published may be of some Use, even to him; and may tend to make his further Disquisitions more accurate

rate, if ever they should appear; and therefore I shall consider what is already in every Body's Hands.

The first Thing that struck me, upon this Subject, was his Attack upon Mr. Bayle, for what he has said about the Nature of a certain penal Law in the *Jewish* Republic. Mr. Bayle had stated the Objection thus, as Mr. Warburton gives us his Words. "The Law of *Moses* gives no Toleration to Idolaters and false Prophets, whom it punishes with Death.—From whence it follows, that all the Reasons I have employed in the first Part of this Commentary prove nothing, because they prove too much; namely, that the literal Sense of the Law of *Moses*, as far as it relates to the Punishment of Opinions, would be impious and abominable. Therefore since God could, without violating the eternal Order of Things, command the *Jews* to put false Prophets to Death, it follows evidently, that he could, under the Gospel also, command Orthodox Believers to inflict the same Punishment upon *Heretics*." Div. Leg. Vol. II. p. 367-8.

Mr.

Mr. Bayle “ ingenuously owns this Ob-
 “ jection to be strong ;” and He declares,
 that He “ knows some, who have no great-
 “ er Difficulties to hinder their believing,
 “ that God was the Author of the Laws of
 “ *Moses*, and of all those Revelations that
 “ occasioned so much Slaughter and De-
 “ vastation, than this very Business of *In-*
 “ *tolerance*, so contrary to our clearest Ideas
 “ of natural Equity.” *ibid.*

What now is Mr. Warburton's Remark
 upon this? Why, He hints as if Mr. Bayle
 was “ one of those *backward Believers*, as
 “ by some of his Expressions he gives us
 “ Reason to *suspect*.” It is not my Design
 to enter into a Vindication of Mr. Bayle's
 Sentiments; but yet I cannot but ask, which
 are those *Expressions* in this Passage, upon
 which Mr. Warburton is so ready to ground
 his *Suspensions* of Mr. Bayle's being one of
 those *backward Believers*? What have per-
 sonal Reflexions to do in a Case that is to be
 managed with Argument and Reason? But,

Mr. Bayle “ dwelt with Pleasure on this
 “ Circumstance, as he thought it favour'd
 “ his darling Scepticism,” *ibid.* Where
 does it appear, that he *dwelt with Pleasure*
 on

on this *Circumstance*? Or what is the *Circumstance* he dwelt on? If it be the *Business of Intolerance*, --- Surely, he ought to be commended for dwelling on that Subject; nor ought he to be *suspected* of being a *backward Believer* on that Account. If the *Circumstance*, on which he dwelt with *Pleasure*, be the removing a Difficulty taken from a penal Law among the *Jews*:--- This too deserves the Commendation of every Man, Believer or not Believer, and is no Foundation for any ill *Suspensions*. Let Mr. *Bayle* have been e'er so great a *Sceptic*, nothing of that kind *here* appears: And why Mr. *Warburton* should mention this, upon Occasion of this Quotation, unless it be to raise Envy or Prejudice against the Man, whom he did not like, I cannot conceive.

It is true, that Mr. *Bayle* has here observed, "That it seems to be a Mark of
 " God's Sovereign Pleasure, that we should
 " not arrive at Certainty in any Thing, seeing he has given *Exceptions* in his holy
 " Word to almost all the common Notices
 " of Reason," *ibid.* I will not presume to affirm what are the *Exceptions* he had in View. This is certain, That there are Difficulties,

ficulties, which have exercised the Wits of
 the Best and Truest Friends to Revelation,
 and of the ablest Writers, to resolve them.
 This very Subject of *Toleration*, and this
 very Difficulty about the Punishment of
 Idolatry with *Death*, was never cleared up,
 (if you will take Mr. *Warburton's* Word for
 it,) till Mr. *Locke* wrote his Letter upon
Toleration. But since Mr. *Warburton* as-
 sures us, that "before he has done with In-
 "fidelity, he hopes to shew, that the
 "Word of God contains no *Exceptions* to
 "the common Notices of Reason," *ibid.*
 I shall live in hopes to see a compleat An-
 swer to all those Difficulties, which hither-
 to have been raised by Good and Honest
 Men, and I shall heartily and sincerely
 congratulate him on his successful Labors.
 But let us proceed.

Mr. *Warburton* affirms, that "the Solu-
 "tion of this Difficulty," *viz.* of the ca-
 pital Punishment of Idolatry, "was above
 "Mr. *Bayle's* Strength, had he been never
 "so willing to reconcile Scripture to Rea-
 "son. The Truth is, *Judea* was a mere
 "*Terra incognita* to this great Adventurer."
 Here again we want *Proof*, and not mere
 Assertion;

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 161

Affertion; and what Reason there is to call for it, will appear presently. He goes on;
“ Our *excellent Countryman Mr. Locke*, who
“ wrote about this Time on the same
“ Subject,--- was much happier in his Account of the Matter.” Happy *England*, that Mr. *Locke* was *born* here! His Letter concerning Toleration might have been suspected to have come from some Foreigner, since he published his Book, not in his native Language, and printed it at *Tergaw*, and directed it to a *Dutch* Divine, and so put his Name to it, that a thousand may look on its Title, and not know, that it was the Work of an *English* Man, or that Mr. *Locke* wrote it. But let us see what Mr. *Locke* says.

“ *As to the Case of the Israelites*, says he,
“ *in the Jewish Commonwealth, who being*
“ *initiated into the Mosaic Rites, and made*
“ *Citizens of the Commonwealth, did afterwards apostatize from the Worship of*
“ *the God of Israel, These were proceeded*
“ *against as TRAYTORS and REBELS, guilty*
“ *of no less than HIGH TREASON. For*
“ *the Commonwealth of the Jews, different*
“ *in That from all others, was an absolute*

M

“ THEOCRACY;

" THEOCRACY; nor was there, nor could
 " there be any Difference between the Com-
 " monwealth and the Church. The Laws
 " established there concerning the Worship of
 " the one invisible Deity were the Civil Laws
 " of the People, and a Part of their Politi-
 " cal Government, in which God himself was
 " the Legislator. This he said, and for
 " aught I can learn, he was the *First* that
 " said it. So that the Remark was as new
 " as it was solid," p. 369.

What I would observe upon this is, First,
 Mr. Warburton says, that our Countryman,
 Mr. Locke, was the *first* that gave this So-
 lution of this Difficulty; and when He
 gave it, it was *New*. Secondly, Mr. Bayle
 was not able to solve it, "*it was above his*
 "*Strength, had he been never so willing.*"
 I add, Thirdly, that "before Mr. Warbur-
 " ton had seen the Solution in Mr. Locke's
 " Treatise, or knew that He, or any one
 " else, had given it, He conceived it to be
 " the only Answer to the Objection." *ibid.*

Now *First*, Mr. Bayle wrote his *Commen-*
tary in the Year 1686. Mr. Locke published
 his Epistle concerning Toleration not till
 1689, and then published it at Tergaw
 in

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 163
in the same Country, where Mr. Bayle had
published his Commentary. Consequently
Mr. Bayle wrote *Three Years* before Mr.
Locke. Secondly Mr. Bayle gave the very
Solution that Mr. Locke gave to this Diffi-
culty ; and consequently Mr. Locke was not
the *First* that gave the true Solution of this
Difficulty, nor was his Solution *New*.
Thirdly, If therefore Mr. Locke's Solution
was "*solid,*" and "*the only proper Answer*
"*to the Objection,*" Mr. Bayle's was as *so-*
lid and *proper* ; and consequently again,
"*this Difficulty was not above his Strength.*"

I have from Mr. Warburton transcribed
Mr. Locke's Words ; it is fit to transcribe
Mr. Bayle's, that You yourself may see his
Solution. He has mentioned some other
Considerations relating to this Difficulty,
and then he proceeds thus, — " But where-
" fore, will some say, why put a Man to
" Death for persuading his Neighbour
" to worship another Divinity, which in
" his Judgment he believes to be true ?
" Because by that *particular* Form of Go-
" vernment, and in that *Theocracy*, under
" which the People of *Israel* liv'd, this
" was an *Overt-act* of *High Treason* ; it was

“ an Attempt of *Rebellion* against the So-
 “ vereign Magistrate. Now, since Order
 “ eternal and immutable confers a Power
 “ on the Magistrate of punishing *Treason*
 “ and *Rebellion*, and whatever tends to the
 “ overthrowing the Constitution; it is plain,
 “ that God being once constituted Head of the
 “ Jewish Commonwealth, whoever should
 “ afterwards alienate his own *Allegiance*, or
 “ endeavour to draw others away, deserved
 “ to die as a *Traitor* and *Rebel*: Nor will it
 “ avail him, that in so doing he followed
 “ the Light of his Conscience; this being
 “ a singular Case, in which God by an
 “ extraordinary Appointment, viz. That of
 “ a *Theocratical* Government among the
 “ *Jews*, derogates from the Immunities of
 “ Conscience. The Crime in this Case be-
 “ comes punishable by the *Secular* Arm, in
 “ Quality of *Treason* and *Rebellion* against
 “ the State, &c.”

The Point here is, only to consider these
Facts, whether Mr. *Locke* was the *first* that
 gave the *true Solution* of the Difficulty, and
 whether his Solution was *new*, as well as
solid; and whether the Difficulty was *above*
 Mr. *Bayle's Strength* to answer. Now Mr.

Bayle

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 165

Bayle wrote three Years before Mr. Locke. Mr. Bayle's Solution is taken from the Theocratical Government among the Jews: So is Mr. Locke's. In this State, says Mr. Bayle, Idolatry was Treason and Rebellion: Idolaters were Traitors and Rebels, says Mr. Locke. In that Theocracy, says Mr. Bayle, under which the People of Israel liv'd, Idolatry was an Overt-Act of High-Treason; it was an Attempt of Rebellion against the Sovereign Magistrate: Such People were guilty, says Mr. Locke, of no less than High Treason. The Crime, says Mr. Bayle, was punishable by the secular Arm in Quality of Treason and Rebellion against the State: The Worship of the One God, says Mr. Locke, was a Part of their Political Government,--- the Civil Laws of the People; from whence he argues, that Idolaters were proceeded against as Traytors and Rebels. So then they Both account for this Difficulty on the very same Principles; they Both use the same Expressions; they Both resolve it into the Theocracy established among the Jews; they Both allow it to be owing to the particular Constitution of that People, in which God was the Sovereign Magistrate: And

yet Mr. *Locke* was much happier in his Account of this Matter, than Mr. *Bayle*. Can this be owing to any thing else but this, Mr. *Locke* was our excellent Countryman, Mr. *Bayle* was not our Countryman, but was a backward Believer.

But neither was Mr. *Locke*, nor Mr. *Bayle*, the first that had published to the World this Solution of this Difficulty. Dr. *Spencer* had done it before either of them. He, in a Dissertation, which Mr. *Warburton* has treated as of little Esteem, has shewn, that God, as King of the Jews, had given Laws about the punishing Idolaters with Death, "*utpote rebellibus et majestatis imminutæ manifestis,*" as Rebels, and guilty of Treason. This was published by him in the Year 1685. So that Mr. *Locke* was not the First, that gave the true Answer to the Difficulty; no not the first of even our Countrymen. And what is not a little remarkable, Dr. *Spencer* considers the wrong Use that might be made of this Law, as Mr. *Bayle* and Mr. *Locke* did after him. "*E legibus hisce perperam colligitur, quod nobis etiam in idololatrias et hæreticos ferro et flamma sævire liceat: nam manifestum*"
" est

“ *est omnibus, nisi quos ζῆλος πικρὸς, occæca-*
 “ *vit, Israelitas leges illas a Deo accepisse,*
 “ *non quatenus Jehovah, sed quatenus Je-*
 “ *hovah stator esset, et inter eos, instar regis*
 “ *politici, modo visibili et externo versaretur.*”

It is a great Mistake, says he, to conclude from these Laws, that it is lawful for Us to take away the Lives of Idolaters and Heretics; for it is manifest to all, except such as a bitter Zeal has stark blinded, that God gave the Jews those Laws, not as the God of Heaven, or Governor of the Universe, but as God their KING, and was amongst them as their POLITICAL GOVERNOR. De Theocratia Judaica, p. 254.

The Commonwealth of *Israel* was certainly different from all other Commonwealths, that either are, or ever were in the World. Their Civil Laws were given by *God*, and so were the Laws relating to their Religion and Modes of Worship. In this They were different from all other People, that no Distinction ought to be made betwixt their Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws; for in Strictness their whole Body of Laws made up one Civil Body of Institutes, whereof *God* was the proper Legislator,

who founded their Commonwealth. In all other States the Society have set up their Commonwealth, and have armed their Magistrates with Power, as they thought most necessary or useful to themselves: And, if they have thought fit to embrace the Christian Revelation, this has made no Alteration in the *Civil State*. That has gone on in its former Rout, changing, altering, repealing, adding to, its Civil Laws, without Blame, and without Censure. But amongst the *Jews* it could not be so, without rejecting God from being their King, and declaring themselves dissatisfied with the Laws which he gave them. Now a King *invisible*, being their King, they had no Opportunity or Possibility of having Access to him, or consulting with, or taking Directions from him, but in the Manner prescribed: Either they were to consult his *Oracle*; or to follow the Directions of Persons known to be *inspired* by him; or there must have been some *extraordinary Interposition*, from whence they could conclude how they were to act.

This Form of Government of the *Jews*, being properly call'd a *Theocracy*, there are

Two

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 169

Two Points, which Mr. *Warburton* has largely consider'd. The *First* is, in Relation to the Origin, Continuation, and Duration of this Theocracy. The *Other* is, in Relation to the Exercise of an *extraordinary Providence* over *particular Persons*, as well as over the *State* in general.

In Relation to the *Former* of these Points, He tells us, " that most Writers suppose it " to have ended with the *Judges*, but " scarce any bring it lower than the *Capti-* " *vity* : On the contrary, I hold, that in " strict Truth and Propriety it ended not " till the coming of *Christ*." p. 404. Here it is, that He attacks Dr. *Spencer's* Dissertation on the *Jewish* Theocracy, " a Treas- " ure by no Means in the Number of those " on which *Spencer* rais'd his Reputation : " He goes on a wrong Hypothesis ; he " uses weak Arguments ; and he is con- " fused, and inconsistent in his Assertions," p. 414.

Are we not now from hence to imagine, that Dr. *Spencer* was one of those Writers that supposed the Theocracy to have ended with the *Judges*, or at furthest with the *Captivity* ? And yet Mr. *Warburton* is forced to

to own, that *Spencer* “supposes,” [I say He positively asserts] “that some obscure Foot-
“ steps of it remained to the Time of *Christ*,”
yes, and longer too, for his Words are, *ad extrema usque Politicæ suæ tempora*, i.e. quite to the last Times of their Polity, even to the last Times of expiring Judaism.

But supposing Dr. *Spencer* to be somewhat “confused and inconsistent” in his Account of the Theocracy; Surely he is pardonable, since he tells us, that *Nobody had before enter’d fully into that Affair: if any had touched upon it, it was only by the by.* Let us see if Mr. *Warburton* be more clear and consistent in his Account of this Matter.

His first Charge against him is, That He thought the Theocracy was established by Degrees, and abrogated by Degrees. A “Conceit highly absurd, says Mr. *Warburton*, as God was Legislator.” p. 415. But wherein lies the Absurdity of this *Gradual Progress* and *Gradual Declension*, even in Cases where God was *Legislator*? I suppose he will say, that the *Theocracy* began at the *Instant* of the *Hereb Covenant*; and not when the Children of *Israel* were delivered from *Egypt*, and were first under the im-
mediate

mediate Protection of God. But *Spencer* intended by his Word *Theocracy*, all the Time that the *Jews* were under the direct Power, and immediate Dominion of God; which certainly began at the Deliverance of the *Jews* from *Egypt*, and was compleated in the highest and fullest Sense, at the *Horeb* Covenant, when God was constituted their *King*.

So when Dr. *Spencer* speaks of its *declining gradually*,---of the *Government of God* being lessened,--- of its making a *nigher Approach to its ceasing*; I think, if there be an *Absurdity* or *Inconsistency* in this Manner of speaking, it may be justified by Mr. *Warburton's* own Authority. He himself tells us, that "indeed in the Period immediately preceding their [the *Jews*] Captivity, on the gradual withdrawing the extraordinary Providence from them,--- they began to entertain Doubts concerning God's further peculiar Regard to them, as his chosen People." p. 400. So that he here expressly owns a GRADUAL WITHDRAWING of the extraordinary Providence from the *Jews*. And where is the Absurdity of Dr. *Spencer's* gradual Declension, or Imminution
of

of the Theocracy, which Mr. Warburton's GRADUAL WITHDRAWING *of the extraordinary Providence* is not liable unto? Or was not the *gradual withdrawing of the extraordinary Providence*, a proper Imminution of the Theocracy? Dr. Spencer conceived, that this *gradual Declension* of the Theocracy began in the *Israelites Demand of a King*; that it was more lessen'd when God called *Saul* and *David* to the Head of Affairs; that under *Solomon* it became nearer to its Cessation. And in Proof of this he urges the Disuse of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and such other Arguments as shew'd there was not such frequent Interpositions of an *extraordinary Providence*, as were under the *Judges*, or in *Joshua's*, or in *Moses's* Days: At the same time he contends, that some obscure Footsteps of it continued to the last Times of their State. Now Mr. Warburton hath not shewn, that the *gradual Declension* of the Theocracy did not *begin*, when Spencer says it did; but only that it did not *cease* at the Time when Spencer said it began to *decline*. And since he owns, that there was a *gradual withdrawing of the extraordinary Providence* before the Captivity, he *must*
own

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 173

own a *gradual Imminution*, even whilst God's *Viceroy* continued *upon his Throne*: And what will be the Absurdity or Inconsistency in *Spencer*, that he himself is not liable unto? But,

2. I must observe further, Dr. *Spencer* maintains, " that some obscure Footsteps " of the Theocracy remained *even to the* " *Time of Christ.*" And Mr. *Warburton* holds, that it " ended not till *the coming of* " *Christ.*" p. 404, 417. Dr. *Spencer* is consistent: But it is far from being clear, that Mr. *Warburton* is so. For He hath told us, that in the Period, *immediately preceding the Captivity*, there was a *gradual withdrawing* of the extraordinary Providence. p. 400. In another Place he tells us, that " after their perfect Settlement, on their " Return from Captivity, (when we know " from the Course and Progress of God's " Oeconomy, the extraordinary Providence " would *cease*,) we hear no more of it amongst them, nor did they make the " least Pretence to it, tho' they now adhered much more strictly to their Religion, than they had ever done before. " They pretended not,-- to either Prophets, " Oracles

“ Oracles, or extraordinary Dispensations,”
 p. 440. Here Mr. *Warburton* mentions the
 Misfortune at “ *Bethsura*, caused by the
 “ Sabbatical Year ; a Misfortune, of which
 “ we have no Instance before the Capti-
 “ vity, and therefore a plain Proof, that the
 “ extraordinary Providence was indeed with-
 “ drawn.” p. 440. Again ; “ The extra-
 “ ordinary Providence kept gradually de-
 “ caying, till on *their full Settlement* after
 “ their Return it ENTIRELY CEASED.”

P. 445.

From these Assertions of Mr. *Warburton*
 I argue, 1. That if the *Extraordinary* Pro-
 vidence ENTIRELY CEASED, on the *full*
Settlement of the *Jews*, after their Return, it
 ceased some Centuries at least before the
 Days of *Christ* ; and consequently the *Theo-*
cracy must have ceased some Centuries be-
 fore the Days of *Christ*. How then is Mr.
Warburton more consistent about the *Dura-*
tion of the Theocracy than Others are, since
 he pleads for its *Continuance* till *Christ*'s Time,
 and yet maintains, that it *entirely ceased* so
 long before his Time ? And, 2. The Affair
 of *Bethsura* seems to intimate, that God did
 not give to the *Jews* a double Portion of
 Corn,

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 175

Corn, or of the Fruits of the Earth, the Year before the Year of rest; for they were forced to make Peace with *Antiochus*, because they had no *Viſtuals* there to endure the Siege, it being a Year of rest to the Land, 1 *Macc.* vi. 49. Now God had promised his *Blessing* upon them in the Sixth Year, that it should bring forth Fruit for three Years, *Lev.* xxv. 21. The People therefore wanting *Viſtuals* at *Bethſura* in the Sabbatical Year, it may seem probable, that the immediate extraordinary Providence was then *ceased*; or else they would not have been forced to submit to their Enemies for *Want of Viſtuals*, that Year more than another. I only argue with Mr. *Warburton*, that it may seem probable, that the extraordinary Providence had at that Time *entirely ceased*: And if so, then it had ceased 183 Years before *Christ* at least. The Point then is to prove, that notwithstanding this *entire Cessation*, yet it continued so long, as Mr. *Warburton* tells us, it did continue.

3. Mr. *Warburton* taxes Dr. *Spencer* with Absurdity, for maintaining, that “ the first
“ Step to the Abrogation” of the Theocracy
“ was the *Israelites* Demand of a King :
“ that

“ that it was more impaired when *Saul* and
 “ *David* got Possession of the Throne :
 “ that it approached much nearer its End,
 “ when it became hereditary under *Solomon* ;
 “ and yet for all this, that some obscure
 “ Footsteps of it remained even to the Time
 “ of *Christ*.” p. 415.

Let us now consider Mr. *Warburton*’s own
 Words thirty Pages off. He is speaking of
 the GRADUAL WITHDRAWING of the ex-
 traordinary Providence. “ Under the *Judges*,
 “ says he, it was perfectly equal. And du-
 “ ring that Period of the Theocracy, it is
 “ remarkable we hear of no Complaints
 “ at all. When the People had rebelliously
 “ demanded a *King*, and their Folly was so
 “ far complied with, that God suffered
 “ the *Theocracy* to be administer’d by a
 “ *Viceroy*, there was as was fitting, a great
 “ ABATEMENT in the Vigour of this ex-
 “ traordinary Providence, partly in natural
 “ Consequence, God being further removed
 “ from the immediate Administration ; part-
 “ ly in Punishment of their Rebellion. And
 “ soon after this, it is that we first find them
 “ beginning to make their Remarks and
 “ Complaints of Inequality. From hence
 “ to

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 177

“ to the time of the *Captivity*, the extraordinary Providence kept GRADUALLY DECAYING, till on their full Settlement, after their return, it entirely ceased.” p. 445.

What now is the Difference betwixt these two Great Men? Dr. *Spencer* has dated the *Abatement* of the Theocracy from the End of the Times of the *Judges*: Mr. *Warburton* allows that “ Under the *Judges* it was perfectly equal.” Dr. *Spencer* says, that the Theocracy suffered some Imminution under *David* and *Solomon*: Mr. *Warburton* says, “ When the People demanded a King --- there was a great *Abatement* in the Vigour of this Extraordinary Providence.” At last Mr. *Warburton* owns a TOTAL CESSATION upon the return of the *Jews* from Captivity; and to the time of the Captivity a GRADUAL DECAY: Dr. *Spencer* says, there was a Gradual Imminution of the Theocracy; but as for a TOTAL CESSATION before *Christ*'s time, he was not inconsistent enough to maintain That.

4. I cannot but observe, that Mr. *Warburton* asserts, and seems to know *a priori*, that the Extraordinary Providence would
N cease,

cease, a great many Ages before *Christ*; and notwithstanding this, he maintains that the *Theocracy* was to continue till the Days of *Christ*. His Words are, what I in part have cited already, but which I must again repeat. "After their perfect Settlement on their return from Captivity, *when we know from the Course and Progress of God's Oeconomy, the extraordinary Providence would cease, &c.*" p. 440. How does Mr. *Warburton* know *from the Course and Progress of God's Oeconomy*, that at *that time* the extraordinary Providence would cease? Did God ever discover beforehand, that it should cease after their Return and *Settlement* in their own Land? Or by what Rule does he form a Judgment, that what was GRADUALLY DECAYING to the Captivity, was *entirely to cease* after their Return and full Settlement; and yet was to continue till *Christ's* time, even some Hundred of Years after their full Settlement? I fear Mr. *Warburton* has pronounced a certain *Knowledge*, where he has not sufficient Principles to reason on.

He owns, that the extraordinary Providence "was long ceased," when the Author

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 179
thor of *Ecclesiasticus* lived. p. 439. And
whilst the *Jews* were out of their own Land,
it was impossible that they should observe
the *Laws* of their King: He had given them
up to Captivity, and in course the whole
Frame of their Republic was disjointed, if
not perfectly dissolved during those *Seventy*
Years. When They returned into their
own Land, and to their national Laws and
Constitutions, and were settled; there does not
seem to be any Return, or at least Continuance
of an Extraordinary Providence. For the O-
racle of God ceased; Prophecy and Prophets
soon ceased; the promised Blessing of the
Sabbatical Year ceased; in short, the *Jews*
then began to form a Plan of their own, they
mingled up with the Law given by God,
an heterogeneous Composition of Human
Laws, which were more observed by many
than the Law of God when *Christ* appeared,
and which he condemned as so many Addi-
tions, the Observance of which would not
entitle them to any extraordinary Blessings.

But I am not enquiring into the *Causes* of
the *extraordinary Providence* ceasing, but
into the *Fact* itself. It had ceased some

hundred of Years before *Christ* came; as Mr. *Warburton* over and over confesses. The Difficulty then is to shew that the *Theocracy* continued, or “ended not till the “coming of *Christ*.” p. 404.

Perhaps Mr. *Warburton* will distinguish between the ceasing of the *Theocracy*, and the ceasing of the *Extraordinary Providence*: He may say, that the *Theocracy* continued till the *coming of Christ*; the *Extraordinary Providence* entirely ceased at the full Settlement after the return of the *Jews* from their Captivity. Let us then grant that the *Theocracy* “revived after the return from “the Captivity,” as he tells us p. 416. And that “that Dispensation of Providence soon ceased after the Re-establishment.” *ibid*. We are still as much in the Dark as ever; nor will this Distinction help the Matter, or free Mr. *Warburton* from great self-Contradiction. For He tells us, “one “NECESSARY consequence [of a Theocracy] “was an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.” For the Affairs of a People under a Theocracy being administered “by GOD as KING; “and his peculiar and immediate Administration in human Affairs being what we “call

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 181

“ call an *Extraordinary Providence*, it follows that an *Extraordinary Providence* must NEEDS be exercised over such a People. My Meaning is, that if the *Jews* were really under a *Theocracy*, they were really under an *Extraordinary Providence*.
“ ----In a Word, they must be either both true or both false, but still *inseparable*.
“ p. 419.

If this be the Case, then it is plain that a *Theocracy* cannot be without an *Extraordinary Providence*. But then Mr. Warburton has shewn, and at large insists upon it, that the *Extraordinary Providence* ENTIRELY CEASED several hundred Years *before Christ's coming*: Nay he says, that he “ *knows from the Course and Progress of God's Oeconomy, that the Extraordinary Providence would cease at the full Settlement of the Jews after their return from the Captivity.*” p. 440. He has likewise proved by several Arguments, “ that the *Theocracy* continued even to the coming of *Christ.*” p. 417, 418. By this means we are left in inextricable Difficulties: For First, we have a *Theocracy* subsisting many hundred Years without an *extraordinary Providence*, viz. from the Settlement

of the *Jews*, after their return, to the time of *Christ*: And consequently, Secondly, a *Theocracy* wherein an *Extraordinary Providence* NEEDS not be exercised. Thirdly, We have a *Theocracy* without a NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE of a *Theocracy*, *i. e.* without an extraordinary Providence. And whereas he asserts that “ the *Theocracy* and “ *extraordinary Providence*, must be either “ Both true or Both false, but still *inseparable*,” He himself has shewn them to be *separable*, by shewing that the one did in fact subsist without the other for so many hundred Years, as were between the Settlement of the *Jews* after their return from Captivity and the coming of *Christ*.

Mr. *Warburton*'s second Objection against Dr. *Spencer* is, “ in his *Arguments for the* “ *Abolition of the Theocracy*, instead of attempting to prove it on the great Principles of Civil Policy, the only way of determining the Question with certainty, he “ insists much on the Disuse of *Urim* and “ *Thummim*, &c. He brings the Despotic “ Power of the Kings, as another Argument, “ which I think proves the very contrary. “ For were these Kings the Viceroys of
“ God,

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 183

“ God, whose Power was despotic, their’s
“ must necessarily be the same; not so, if
“ Monarchs in their own Right.” p. 415.

“ In his Arguments for the *Abolition of*
“ *the Theocracy:*” — Has Dr. *Spencer* any
Arguments for the *Abolition* of the Theo-
cracy before the Days of *Christ*? He
has no such Arguments; nor I dare say
never thought of such a Topic; be-
cause he tells us that it continued *to the last*
times of their Polity. He has indeed a Sec-
tion about the *Duration* of the Theocracy,
in which he lays down four Theses, about
the *gradual declining* of the Theocracy:
And in one of them, he shews that it was
not at an End in *Saul* and *David’s* Days,
because in their time the *divine Oracle* was
consulted: that in *Solomon’s* time, there was
a Disuse of the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thum-*
mim, which was the most eminent Pledge
and Indication of the divine Government:
from this he concludes it nearer ἀφανισμῶ, to
a disappearing. But since he allows it to
continue for a thousand or eleven hundred
Years after this, how is it possible for him
to bring Arguments for the *Abolition* of the
Theocracy from the Disuse of *Urim* and *Thum-*
mim? He could mean only an *Abatement*.

2. Suppose he uses an Argument taken from the *Despotic* Power of the *Jewish* Kings. --- Is this to prove an *Abolition* of the Theocracy, which he owns to have continued to the End of the *Jewish* Polity? A *Despotic* Power in a King governing all things by his *own* Will and Pleasure, is quite a different thing from an absolute Power delegated by God to his *Viceroy*: This must always be directed by Truth, Justice and Goodness; whereas the other is, or may be, what cannot be delegated by God, nothing but Humour, Caprice and Fancy. Dr. *Spencer* therefore never brings an Argument from the *Despotic* Power of their Kings to prove an *Abolition* of the Theocracy, but an *Imminution*, a *lessening* of it, a *Declension* of it. God *might*, and Dr. *Spencer* thinks that, He *did*, not so visibly shew himself the *immediate King* and *Governor* of *Israel*, after *Solomon's* Days, as he did before: And he imagines that this appears from certain Circumstances in and after those Times, where these *Viceroy's* made use of a *Despotic* Power, not according to Truth and Uprightness. But as to a *total Cessation*, or as Mr. *Warburton* calls it, an *Abolition* of the Theocracy, Dr. *Spencer*

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 185

Spencer is not so inconsistent as to suppose it to *continue* to *Christ's* time at least, and yet to plead that it *totally ceased* either a thousand or five hundred Years before that time.

The *Third* Objection of Mr. *Warburton* is, that though Dr. *Spencer* in one Place “supposes a *gradual decay* of the Theocracy, and that even some obscure Footsteps of it remained to the time of *Christ*, yet “in the following Section he all the way “argues upon the Supposition of an absolute and entire *Abrogation*, by the establishment of the Kings.” p. 416.

Here again is Dr. *Spencer* much misrepresented, from not considering what he meant by the *Abrogation* of God's Government. Not that the Theocracy entirely *ceased*; but the Government received an Alteration and Abatement. And therefore he uses more than once the Phrase of, *regiminis mutati*, in this very Section, and tells us, that when the *Israelites* desired a King --- *hac in re Deus ab arte regis politici non recessit.* God did not recede from the Art of a Political Governor, but consented to their Requests in order to avoid a greater Evil. Where is the Absurdity or Inconsistency of this way of Reasoning, unless *Abrogation* is made

made to signify a total *Abolition*; and *Duration* is construed to be *Cessation*?

But let me now proceed to the *Second* Point, which relates to the Exercise of an extraordinary Providence over *Particular Persons* as well as over the *State* in general.

The Scripture Representation of the *Theocracy*, as Mr. *Warburton* assures us, “ was, “ 1. Over the *State* in general: And 2. Over “ *private Men* in particular.” p. 434. I have no Doubts about the former of these Cases: For where a *Law* was given by God, and He condescended to become the *King* of a Nation; and a solemn Covenant was enter’d into by the People, and by God, as their King; and where Blessings were solemnly promised upon Obedience to the Law, or Curses were denounced upon Disobedience; and this by one who was *able* to execute whatever he engaged; no doubt can be about the reciprocal Obligations, or about God’s performing his part of the Obligation, since it is his property not to *lie nor deceive*. Temporal Rewards and Punishments being then the *Sanction* of the *Jewish* Law, these must be dispensed by God so as to make the *State* happy and flourishing if they kept
the

the Law, or else miserable if they disobey'd it. If they observed, and did all the Commandments, which God commanded them, God had engaged to make them *high above all Nations, which he had made, in Praise, and in Name, and in Honour*; and if *Enemies rose up against them, the Lord would cause them to be smitten*. On the other hand, if they grew negligent of their Law, or *went aside from any of the Words commanded them, --- to serve other Gods*, then the Lord was to send *Cursing, Vexation, and Rebuke in all thou settest thine Hand unto for to do, until thou be destroy'd, and until thou perish quickly*. The Blessings and the Curses were *general, and national*, agreeable to the Character of a *King*, and to a *Legal Administration*: Such as related to them as a *People*; and not to *Particular Persons*.

The Question then that now is to be consider'd is, Whether an *Extraordinary Providence* was administer'd to *Particulars*, in such manner, that "*no Transgressor escaped Punishment, nor any Observer of the Law missed his Reward*." This was the State of the *Jews* under an *Equal Providence*, as *Mr. Warburton* tells us, p. 452, and by
this

this Means, “ human Affairs might be kept
“ in good Order without the Doctrine of a
“ future State of Rewards and Punish-
“ ments.”

That God did bless *Particular* Persons amongst the *Jews*, as well as now he does in all Nations, is certain: but that he so dispensed his Favours, as that “ no Observer
“ of the Law missed his Reward, nor did
“ any Transgressor escape Punishment,” is far from being clear. The *Nation*, consider’d as a *Nation*, had this peculiar to it, that when *they did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, they were deliver’d into the Hands of their Enemies*: When they repented, and put away the *strange Gods from among them, and served the Lord*, they were deliver’d. Instances of this are frequent in the Book of *Judges*, and in the History of the Kings of *Israel*. But if we descend to an extraordinary Providence over *Particulars*, even in those Times, I do not remember what will amount to Proof. Soon after these Times, “ the Sacred Writers themselves frequently
“ speak of the Inequality of Providence to
“ *Particulars*, in such a Manner as Men
“ living under a *common* Providence, are
“ accustomed

JEWISH THEOCRACY *considered.* 189

“accustomed to speak.” p. 442-3. They complain of the Prosperity of the Wicked, and the ill Success of Good Men: Nay sometimes They say, *All Things come alike to all: there is one Event to the righteous and wicked, to the good and clean, and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: As is the Good, so is the Sinner, and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an Oath, Eccles. ix. 2.* If we go up higher to David's Days, *Asaph* says, *My Feet were almost gone,---I saw the Prosperity of the Wicked: They are not in the Trouble of other Men, neither are they plagued with other Men. Therefore Pride compasseth them about as a Chain, Violence covereth them as a Garment.--- Behold these are the Ungodly who prosper in the World, they increase in Riches. Psal. xxiii. 2-12.* *Jeremiah's* Complaint is so strong, that it is unconceivable how he should make it, were an extraordinary Providence over Particulars exerted. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee, yet let me talk with thee of thy Judgments: Wherefore doth the Way of the Wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously? Thou*

Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken Root; they grow, yea, they bring forth Fruit; thou art near in their Mouth, and far from their Reins. Jer. xii. 1, 2. If from these, and such general Complaints among the Sacred Writers, one descends to particular Cases, --- Whence was it that *Josiah* was slain e'er he was *forty* Years old, when *like unto him there was no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his Heart, and with all his Soul, and with all his Might, according to all the Law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him, 2 King. xxiii. 25.* And in much earlier Days, when *Solomon* had forsaken God, and worshipped *Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom*, yet He was continued *Prince all the Days of his Life*, and the Kingdom was taken out of his Son's Hands, to be given to *Jeroboam, 1 King. xi. 33, 35.* a Prince that was as Idolatrous and Wicked, or more so, than ever was *Solomon* himself. And if we go up higher still, to those early Days, when all agree, that the Theocracy was in its full Force, when *Achan* had stolen the *Wedge of Gold*, and had sinned against the Lord God of Israel, the Forces of *Joshua* were
smitten

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 191

committed before the Men of *Ai*. The *Crime* was *Achan's* alone, but the *Punishment* fell on the discomfited Army of *Israel*.

This Objection, taken from the Complaints made by the Sacred Writers, was so full and strong, that tho' Mr. *Warburton* promises to prove *hereafter* that an equal Providence was actually administer'd, yet for his Readers *present Satisfaction*, He would shew, that "these Representations
" of *Inequality* are very *consistent* with that
" before given of the *Equality* of Provi-
" dence." p. 443. I will examine, with as much Brevity as I can, what he has said; and leave you to judge, whether he has said enough to give his Reader *present Satisfaction*.

First, He says, "That when the Sacred
" Writers speak of the *Inequality* of Providence, and the unfit Distribution of
" Things, they sometimes mean that State
" of it amongst their *Pagan Neighbours*,
" and not in *Judæa*; as particularly in the
" Book of *Psalms* and *Ecclesiastes*." p. 443.

Asaph, or whoever was the Author of the *Psalms* before cited, complains heavily, and was almost stagger'd at the Prosperity of
the

the wicked. These *wicked* Men were not, it seems, *Jews*, but their *Pagan Neighbours*. He then that lived under an *equal* Providence, where the Wicked were constantly punished and the Good as constantly rewarded, was almost lost, when he consider'd, that where there was *no equal* Providence, there the Wicked were prosperous, and the Good suffer'd. Did He not know the Difference betwixt *Israel*, and its Neighbours? Was not God the *King of Israel*? And did he stand in that Relation to other Nations? How then could he be surpris'd so much at the Prosperity of the Wicked in the Heathen World? But supposing him to consider God, as eminently *Good to Israel*, as the *King* and *Governor* of it, then He might well wonder at the Prosperity of the *Wicked* among God's People; and his Wonder might be much greater than it usually has been in the World, where this Difficulty has been made a common Objection against Providence.

But let us examine the Psalm itself. *Truly God is Good to Israel*: Much in the same Manner says *Jeremiah*, *Righteous art thou, O Lord*. This is a Principle so certain, that

that it can never be given up, let what Difficulties soever be raised. Then the *Psalmist* goes on, *As for me, my Feet were almost gone, --- for I envied the foolish, ---* those who acted as if there were no God, --- *I saw the Prosperity of the Wicked.* Could the *Psalmist*, under the immediate Providence of God, and reaping the Benefits of his Goodness upon Mr. Warburton's Scheme, envy the foolish Heathen? For what should he envy them? Was not he as happy in the Enjoyment of the good Things of Life, as they were? He goes on to describe their Prosperity, and Wantonness, and Slight of God, or his Knowledge; --- And then says, *Verily I have cleansed my Heart in vain, and washed my Hands in Innocency.* v. 13. How so? Does every particular Wicked Man among the *Gentiles increase in Riches*, grow great and powerful, and have more than Heart can wish? No surely. This is not universally true among the Heathen, more than it was among the *Jews*: But some certain Persons that were wicked, prospered in the World: But whether they were *Jews* or Heathens, the *Psalmist* has not hitherto declared: But that they were *Jews* appears

from what follows. *If I say, I will speak thus, viz. that I have cleansed my Heart in vain,-- I should offend against the Generation of thy Children: I should give just Offence to them, by publishing so injurious a Falsehood among thy People. What then does the Psalmist resolve on? Why, to go into the Sanctuary of God, and thence to learn this Secret, and there to learn the End of such Men. Thou castedst them into Destruction, surely thou didst set them in slippery Places: How are they brought into Desolation, as in a Moment? They are utterly consumed with Terrors, &c. How would he have offended against the Jews, by publishing, that there was an Unequal Providence among their Pagan Neighbours? Would the Consequence have been, that Then the Jews might live wickedly, and yet prosper in the World? How would this follow, when the Jews knew that God was their King, and that every Transgressor would be punished, every good Man would be rewarded? Whereas, if you suppose that the Psalmist speaks of Jews, wicked Jews that prosper'd in the World, all is easy; and He only raises the common Objection against Providence,*

vidence, aggravated indeed from the Consideration of the Theocracy, and tells us what gave him Satisfaction upon so nice a Subject.

Much less still is the Reflection of the Preacher in *Ecclesiastes* design'd to relate to his *Pagan* Neighbours. It is an Universal Observation, that the *Work of God* is inscrutable even to a *Wise Man*. On which Account the Author proposes to declare, that no Man could judge of either *Love or Hatred* by what was before him, *since all Things come alike to all, there is one Event to the righteous, and to the wicked, &c.* This was an Evil among all Things done under the Sun, that there is one Event to all. Has he made any Exception for *Israel*? No: But he maintains, that the Race is not to the Swift; nor the Battle to the Strong; neither yet Bread to the Wise; nor yet Riches to Men of Understanding; nor yet Favour to Men of Skill; but Time and Chance happeneth to them all. *Ecclef. ix. 11.* Could a Wise Man, under an Extraordinary Providence himself, talk in this Manner, thus Universally, and make no Exceptions for his own Nation? Did he not see a Difference betwixt the

People of *Israel*, and all other People? Or if there was such a Difference, as Mr. *Warburton* contends for, could he fail taking Notice of it? Would not his own People be led into wrong Notions by such universal Assertions? I cannot therefore but think, that this Solution given by Mr. *Warburton* is not only not sufficiently *well grounded*, but that it has no *Foundation* at all, *viz.* that the *Psalmist*, and the *Son of David*, spoke of their *Pagan Neighbours*, and not of the *Jews*, when they expressed themselves so strongly about the Prosperity of the Wicked, and the Misfortune of good Men.

Mr. *Warburton* has given us a *second* Solution of this Difficulty, no better, I think, than the former. “ We sometimes find
 “ *particular* Men complaining of *Inequalities*
 “ *in Events*, which were indeed the *Effects*
 “ of a most *equal Providence*. Such as
 “ the *Punishment* of *Posterity* for the *Crimes*
 “ of their *Forefathers*; and of *Subjects* for
 “ their *Kings*.” p. 443.

These are indeed remarkable Instances of an extraordinary *equal Providence*, where
 “ no Transgressor could escape Punishment,
 “ nor Good Man escape Reward,” to
 tell

tell us of *transgressing Forefathers* escaping, and their *innocent* Children being *punished*; of *wicked* Kings under no Misfortunes, and *innocent* Subjects suffering on their Account! What is the Difference betwixt an *Equal*, and an *Unequal* Providence, if Good Children are *punished* for bad Fathers, or good Subjects for bad Kings? How is this to be reconciled to Justice, or Goodness, or Impartiality in an *extraordinary* Providence? Or what is an *extraordinary Providence*, but the Display of Rewards and Punishments here, according to the Merit or Demerit, the good or ill Behaviour of *particular* Persons? It is thus, that Mr. *Warburton* has defined it, and this is what He contends for. *David's* Question, which Mr. *Warburton* here mentions,---*But these Sheep, what have they done*,---will require another Answer, when an immediate and peculiar Administration of God is supposed, than to say, that "the Subjects were punished for their " King." Where there is no *Guilt*, there can be no *Punishment* due; and if Kings act wickedly, and their Subjects are innocent, how can the Subjects be punished, or even suffer, in a State where Rewards and

Punishments are supposed to be fitly and equally dispensed? This would be punishing *Innocence*, and letting the *Guilty* not suffer: It would be transferring Guilt, which can never be the "*Effect of the most equal Providence*. If *David* sinned, *David* ought to suffer for it, and not his innocent Subjects, his innocent *Sheep*, that no Ways were concerned. And if the Consequences of such an Administration as that of a Theocracy are such, that the Innocent must be involved in the Crimes of the Guilty, nay are punished for the Guilty, it seems impossible to find out a Difference betwixt an equal and an unequal Providence.

Mr. *Warburton* has observed, --- " that
 " the great Purpose of his Work is to
 " prove, that the *Mosaic* Religion wanting
 " a Doctrine of a future State of Rewards
 " and Punishments, the *Jews* MUST really
 " have enjoy'd that equal Providence under
 " which Holy Scripture represents them
 " to have lived. And then, *no Transgressor*
 " *escaping Punishment, nor any Observer of*
 " *the Law missing his Reward*, human Affairs
 " might be kept in good Order, without
 " the Doctrine of a future State of Re-
 " wards

“wards and Punishments.” p. 452. The Difficulty instantly occur’d, that the Law had expressly declared, that God would in certain Cases *visit the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation.* Here the *innocent* Children are made to suffer for their *sinning* Parents; and this seems to be a direct Contradiction to the Law of an Equal Providence, where *no Transgressor* could *escape Punishment*, nor any *Observers* of the Law could *miss their Reward.*

To get rid of this Difficulty, He observes, “That the Violence of irregular Passions
“would make some Sort of Men, of stronger Complexions, superior to all the Fear
“of *personal Temporal Evil.*” Yes, and to the Fear of all *personal Future Evils* too, as daily Experience shews. But what if they were of such audacious, violent Spirits? Are there no *personal temporal Evils* sufficient to make them sensible of their Folly? Would not Sickneses, Diseases, Calamities, Distresses of many kinds, instantly and constantly inflicted, make them feel and own the Hand that laid them on? Or would not instant *Death* put an End to their Wicked-

O 4

ness?

Wickedness? But instead of this, which should seem the Way of an *Equal Providence*, where no Transgressor was to escape, Mr. *Warburton* tells us, "That to lay hold
 " of these [*viz.* who were superior to personal temporal Evils] and to gain a due
 " Ascendant over the most determined,
 " the Punishments, in this Institution, are
 " extended to the *Posterity* of wicked Men,
 " which the instinctive Fondness of Parents
 " to their Offspring would make terrible to
 " those who have hardned themselves into
 " an Insensibility of personal Punishments."

P. 453.

But be these hardned Wretches ever so insensible of *personal* Punishments,---Must the *innocent* Posterity of these miserable, obstinate Offenders be visited for them, in an Institution, where *no Transgressor* is to escape Punishment, and *no Observer* of the Law is to *miss* his Reward? Will it not always be asked,---*But these Sheep, what have they done?* Why are they to miss their Reward, when they have not transgressed, but are only unhappily descended from a transgressing Parent three or four Generations ago?

It

It is certain that the instinctive Fondness of Parents to their Offspring is oftentimes so great, that the fears of their Children's Sufferings will very much restrain them from the pursuit of irregular Passions; and make them observe the Laws of their Country, and not engage in Practices detrimental to the public Weal. And on this account in all Countries the Effects and Consequences of some Punishments of Parents are extended to their Posterity: And the Civil Law that establishes such Penalties is very just and natural, as it makes Men forfeit Honours and Estates, and whatever Privileges should descend to Children. But this is not the case in Hand. The previous Supposition is, that "no *Transgressor* is to *escape Punishment*, and *every Observer* of the Law is "never to *miss his Reward*." The Question then is, upon *this Supposition*, How a guilty Parent's Crimes can ever be visited upon his innocent Children to the third or fourth Generation? It is no Answer, either to talk of "instinctive Fondness in Parents," or the usual Practice in all Nations, that the Titles and Estates of Rebels shall not descend to their Posterities. The case
in

in debate is, *the visiting the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the innocent Children*, at the same time, that Iniquity cannot escape, nor Innocency be punished.

It is allowed to be in many Instances a grievous Affliction to Parents to have their Children involved in their Crimes. And therefore the better to keep Subjects in Obedience to the Laws, it is very usual to extend to Posterity the Consequences of a Parent's Crimes. But the present Point is, how this can be done consistent with an *equal* Providence. The Laws of Men cannot be so made, or executed, as not to bear hard on Others besides Offenders; and the unhappy Few who happen to be Sufferers must sit contented under their Difficulties for the Sake of the whole. But where an Extraordinary Providence is supposed, and Innocence is a sure Protection, and Wickedness is attended with certain Suffering, the Reverse of this cannot be put in Practice without Contradiction, *i. e.* without destroying that *Equal* Providence, which is all along pre-supposed.

He goes on and observes, " that this Punishment [of visiting the Iniquities of
" Fathers

“ Fathers upon Children] was only to *supply the want* of a future State.” *ibid.* But how will this “ extraordinary Oeconomy” supply this Want? The Children at present suffer for their Parents Crimes; and are supposed to be punished when they have no Guilt. Is not this a plain act of Hardship? And if there be no future State, no Compensation made, the Hardship done must continue for ever a Hardship to the unhappy Sufferer. So that to *supply the want of a future State*, Innocence is made to *suffer* at present, even in a State where *Innocence* cannot fail of a *Reward*. A sad Supply of so great a Good!

Mr. *Warburton* had before him the Practice “ of modern States in attaint of Blood “ and Confiscation,” and he allows this to be done with the highest *Equity*: and says, “ thus it must needs be under a *Theocracy*; “ God supported the *Israelites* in *Judea* by “ an extraordinary Administration of his “ Providence: The Consequence of which “ was great temporal Blessings given them on “ Condition, and to which they had no natural Claim. Could any thing therefore “ be more equitable, than on the Violation “ of

“ of that *Condition* to withdraw those extraordinary Blessings from the Children of a Father thus offending?” p. 457-8.

It is true, that the *Jews* had *no natural Claim* to great temporal Blessings. But then they had a Claim to them from express *Promise*, which is as good a Claim in the present Case as any natural Claim whatever. They had this Claim indeed “on Condition;” A Condition of certain Behaviour, which if they complied with, no Observer was to *miss his Reward*. The case is put of an *innocent Child* suffering on account of a *guilty Father*. The innocent Child has a right to *temporal Blessings* by virtue of express *Promise*; and no Sin of the Father can deprive him of these Blessings without a Violation of the Covenant: For if it would, an *Observer* of the Law would *miss his Reward*. It would therefore in the present Case be so far from “equitable to *withdraw* those extraordinary Blessings from the Children of an offending Parent,” that it would be a direct Violation of Contract, and Engagement: it would be a Breach of Promise in God, and consequently a thing impossible in itself.”

The

The *Third* Solution of this Difficulty, *viz.*
 " That the sacred Writers themselves fre-
 " quently speak of the *Inequality* of Provi-
 " dence to *Particulars*," does not at all clear
 up the Matter; nay, I cannot but think,
 that it involves us in greater Difficulties,
 and shews how much perplexed this No-
 tion is. It stands thus. " Admitting
 " the reality of an *equal* Providence to *Par-*
 " *ticulars* in the *Hebrew* State, the Admi-
 " nistration of it MUST NEEDS be attended
 " with such Circumstances, as sometimes to
 " occasion those Observations of *Inequality*."
 p. 444. *i. e.* in plain Terms, an *equal* Pro-
 vidence MUST NEEDS be observed to be
Unequal. Is not this a plain Acknowledg-
 ment, that an equal Providence cannot be
 administred at all, since it must NEEDS be
 attended with such Circumstances as must
 appear *unequal*? But the Instances he brings
 to solve this Difficulty are so many clear
 Proofs against the thing itself. For,

1. " It appears, says he, from *the Reason*
 " *of the thing*, that this Administration did
 " not begin to be exerted in particular Cases,
 " till the Civil Laws of the Republic had
 " fail'd of their Efficacy. Thus, where any
 " Crime,

“ Crime, as for Instance, Disobedience to
 “ Parents, was *public*, it became the Object
 “ of the Civil Tribunal, and is accordingly
 “ ordered to be punished by the Judge.
 “ But when *private* and secret, then it be-
 “ came the Object of divine Vengeance.”
 Let this be admitted. Now, says Mr. War-
 burton, “ the *Consequence* of this was, that
 “ when the Laws were *remissly* or corruptly
 “ administred, Good and Ill *would* sometimes
 “ happen *unequally* to Men.”

On the Contrary, I say, that this is no
 Consequence at all: For upon Supposition
 of an extraordinary Providence, *equally* ad-
 ministrated, the guilty Persons ought to suf-
 fer by *Divine Vengeance*, and the corrupt
 and remiss Magistrate too, as being guilty of
 a Crime in not doing his Duty. In the pre-
 sent Case, God being *God* as well as *King*,
 and being just, and true to his Promise, and
 measuring every one's Actions by the rule of
 right, if he is obliged in virtue of the *Theo-*
cracy to see that *no Transgressor escapes Pu-*
nishment, it is certain, that He has Power
 to make them all suffer; and he has Know-
 ledge, which no Magistrate, more than the
 disobedient Child, could escape. He there-
 fore

fore with ease could know whatever happened in the State; and by displacing one Viceroy, and putting in another, or by a previous Knowledge of who would be remiss or corrupt, he could remedy this Evil.

But, says Mr. *Warburton*, " We are not
 " *to suppose* that Providence in this Case ge-
 " nerally interfered, till the corrupt *Admi-*
 " *nistration itself*, when ripe for Vengeance,
 " had been *punished.*" *ibid.* The Interpo-
 sition of an *equal* Providence must be very
 common, and very quick, because otherwise
 some *Transgressors* would escape *Punishment*,
 and some good Men would not reap the pre-
 sent temporal Fruits of their Goodness. For
 which Reason we *cannot but suppose* that
 Providence would interfere constantly and
 soon. In the Case of a corrupt or remiss
 Magistrate, numberless Crimes might be
 committed, and the Offenders might escape,
 and prosper in this World, and die in their
 Prosperity. And if the wicked Magistrate
 continued very long, as *Manasseh* reigned
 fifty and five Years in *Jerusalem*, and a dis-
 obedient Child escaped during a great part,
 or the whole of such a Reign, --- would
 not this long escape be the same to all in-
 tents

tents and purposes, as if the wicked Child had lived under an *unequal* Providence? So that this excuse of *Inequality* is really such as proves not an *equal* Providence over *Particulars*, such as Mr. Warburton contends for, but an *unequal* one, founded on Necessity and "*the Reason of the thing.*"

2. He says, "in this *extraordinary* Administration one part of the wicked was "sometimes suffered as a *Scourge* to the "other." *ibid.* Allowing this; were these *Scourges* themselves certainly punished afterwards? Or did not these *Scourges* of the Wicked scourge the Righteous too? The Psalmist speaks of the *mighty that were gathered against him*, and begs to be delivered from *the Workers of Iniquity, and from bloody Men*. Were these Men only *Scourges* of the *Wicked*, or did they not *lie in wait for the Soul of a good Man, not for his Transgression, or for his Sin?* Pf. lix. 2, 3.

Perhaps we may be told, that *these Workers of Iniquity* were *Pagan Neighbours* and not *Jews*. Can it be said, that those whom *David* mentions as ready to *swallow him up*, Pf. lvii. 2. were *Heathens*? Was it an *Heathen* that *David* complains of, whose
Violence

Violence and Strife he had seen in the City.

Pf. lv. Was it not a wicked Man, who was his *Acquaintance*, and *with whom He walked into the House of God*? These wicked Scourges therefore of the *Wicked* plagued the *Righteous* too; and yet in this extraordinary Administration they seem not to be more remarkably punished than they are now, when all allow we are under an *Unequal Providence*.

3^d Mr. *Warburton* tells us, “ that the
“ extraordinary Providence to the *State*
“ might sometimes *clash* with that to *Par-*
“ *ticulars*, as in the *Plague for numbering*
“ *the People.*” *ibid.*

Here again we have a Case put to prove an equal Providence so administered, as to occasion an Observation of Inequality, and strictly proving a *clashing* of one Part of it with the other. One would naturally think, that what cannot be administered without an Inconsistency in itself, cannot be administered by a wise Being at all. How can we admit in any possible Case, that the extraordinary Providence to the *State* should be inconsistent with that to *Particulars*, in the Hands

P

of

of so wise and good, and powerful a Being as God is ?

An Extraordinary Providence over the *State* was certainly promised by God when he took upon himself the Government of the *Jews*. Whether an Extraordinary Providence over *Particulars* was then engaged, so as that no Transgressor should escape Punishment, no Observer of the Law should miss present Temporal Blessings, is the Point to be proved. When Mr. *Warburton* instances in a Point wherein the extraordinary Providence to the One might *clash* with That to the Other, He names a Case where Both, in his Opinion, cannot possibly be administered. When therefore the Plague was sent for numbering the People, many *innocent* People suffered for *David's* Fault, which shews, that in that Instance an *Unequal* Providence was administered ; and consequently, that the Scriptures do in Fact represent that Nation, not under the Notion of an Equal Providence, but of an Unequal one.

Lastly, Mr. *Warburton* has Recourse to a *Suspension* of the Extraordinary Providence at particular Times, or on certain Occasions ;
and

JEWISH THEOCRACY *consider'd.* 211

and by that Means accounts for some real *Inequalities*. “ Sometimes, says he, the
“ extraordinary Providence was *suspended*
“ for a Season to bring on a national Re-
“ pentance ; but at the same time this *Sus-*
“ *pension* was publicly denounced. And a
“ very severe Punishment it was, as *leav-*
“ *ing Men who had no future State of Re-*
“ *wards and Punishments* in a very disconso-
“ late Condition. And this was what oc-
“ casioned the Complaints of the impatient
“ *Jews*, who had been so much accustomed
“ to an extraordinary Administration.” p.
444-5.

By “ leaving Men who had *no future*
“ *State of Rewards and Punishments*,” I
suppose is meant Men, who had no *Notion*,
Belief, or *Hope* of a future State of Rewards
and Punishments. This *Suspension*, he says,
was “ publicly denounced.” But not One
Proof is produced of such a public Denun-
tiation of a *Suspension* of the extraordinary
Providence to Particulars. The only Pas-
sages refer'd to for this *public Denuntiation* of
a *Suspension* of this equal Providence are,
Isaiah iii. 5. lix. 2. lxiv. 7. In the first
of these, God threatens to take away from

Jerusalem the Stay of Bread and Water, the mighty Man, the Judge, the Prophets, the Prudent and the Antient ; and to give Children to be their Princes, and Babes shall rule over them. Then immediately follows the Verse refer'd to.— *And the People shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour : The Child shall behave himself proudly against the Antient, and the Base against the Honourable.* Here is certainly a great Evil threatned to *Jerusalem* and *Judah* ; but as for a *Suspension* of an Extraordinary Providence, here is not one Word. If any Thing is to be gather'd from Hence, it is a total Deprivation of all Care and Concern for an abandoned, desolated People.

And so it is in the *second* Place refer'd to, *Isa. lix. 2. Your Iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your Sins have hid his Face from you, that he will not hear.* How does this relate to an Equal, more than to an Unequal Providence over *Particulars* ? It is as true *now*, as it was *then*, that Iniquities will separate between us and God ; and it has no Relation to any *Suspension* of an Extraordinary Providence for a particular Time. As little to the Purpose
is

is the third Passage. c. lxiv. 7. *For thou hast hid thy Face from us, and hast consumed us, because of our Iniquities.* Is this a public Denuntiation of a *Suspension* of a Providence *for a Time*, or is it not a Declaration of something past? Does this relate to a Providence equally administred to *Particulars*, or to the People in general?

But let us admit, that a *Suspension* of the extraordinary Providence was *publicly denounced* in these Passages of the Prophet:—
“ It was a very severe Punishment.” To whom? Why, to such as it “left in a very
“ disconsolate Condition.” Who were they? Why ALL the *Jews*; for all the *Jews*, it seems, *had no future State of Rewards and Punishments*: All of that Nation, the Virtuous and Wicked, the Good and the Bad: For none of them believed, or had any Hopes of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as is all along pretended. All of them then being left in a *very disconsolate Condition*, “this occasioned the *Complaints*,
“ of the Impatient Jews, who had been so
“ much accustomed to an extraordinary
“ Administration.” Here again I must ask, Who were these *Complainants*? Should he

say; *All* who had no future State of Rewards and Punishments, — this again is saying, that *All the Jews Good and Bad* complained. There are indeed Instances of *Good Mens* complaining of *Wicked Men*, who treated the *Word of God* with Contempt, and laughed at the *Threats* uttered by the Prophets. But there is not an Instance of any *Evil Mens* Complaints, that an Extraordinary Providence was either *suspended*, or not administered.

The *Jews* had been much accustomed to an extraordinary Dispensation, and now this Extraordinary Providence is *suspended*, and publicly known to be so. This was “a severe Punishment,” certainly to all *Good Men*, because God was wont, and had engaged himself to grant particular Blessings to all such; whereas by this *Suspension*, they were no longer entitled to any of them. But here, methinks, it appears strange, that *Good Men* shall be deprived of their Privileges, because there happens to be a Majority of *Evil ones*. The Wisdom of an Administration consists in preventing Wickedness from spreading, or in correcting, and not suffering it to get to too great a Head.

Head. Why then should the *Good* suffer, on account of the *Bad*? Why should the Good be punished in an Equal Providence? For as to the *Wicked*, the Suspension of the Extraordinary Providence was so far from being a *severe Punishment*, or any *Punishment* at all, that it was the greatest Happiness that could befall them. They might now go on in their Wickedness secure and safe: They had no Hopes or Fears of a future State of Rewards or Punishments: They prospered in this World, and therefore were in no *disconsolate Condition*. The Good might *complain*; but then they would not change their Practices: The Wicked would not complain, nor change; and consequently this very *severe Punishment* was inflicted and felt by only such as did not deserve it; whilst those, who should have been reformed, were more encouraged in their Wickedness from the *Suspension* of that, which only could have kept them in Order. For no future State of Rewards or Punishments being supposed to be known or believed by this People, a present Impunity was an actual Encouragement to them to go on in the Enjoyment of their Sins.

In all the Instances, which Mr. Warburton has produced, from *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Amos*, *Zephaniab* and *Malachi*, he takes it for granted, that either there is a *Suspension* of the *Extraordinary Providence* publicly denounced, or actually made. But has he shewn, that a *Suspension* was actually made at any, or all those Times? One cannot but observe, that the Wicked are very bold at those Times; and they treated the Word of the Lord with Disdain and Contempt, and if the Prophets mentioned a *woful Day*, or a Day of Accounts, they cried out, *Let it come*. The Prophets denounced their Woes; and the Wicked despised their Threats: But how it appears from these, or such like Expressions, that the *extraordinary Providence* was *suspended*, I know not. The great Point was first to have been *proved*, that ever there was such an Extraordinary Providence to *Particulars*, as that no Transgressor ever escaped Punishment, nor did any Observer of the Law miss his present Reward. This, I say, should *first* have been *proved*; which I apprehend has not been done: Nor in Course will any of these Passages from the Prophets
 prove

prove a *Suspension* of that equal Providence over *Particulars*, which seems never to have been exerted.

It is certainly a great Difficulty, that Mr. *Warburton* had to surmount, when he attempted upon his Scheme to account for the Representations of Inequality, which the Scriptures so plainly make. He does not therefore rest on the Solutions, which I have mentioned: He saw, I suppose, the Weakness of them. He proceeds therefore in the *last* Place to give a *full* and general Solution of the Difficulty. It stands thus.

“ But the full and general Solution of
 “ the Difficulty is this, --- The common
 “ Cause of these Complaints arose from the
 “ *Gradual withdrawing* the extraordinary
 “ Providence. Under the *Judges* it was
 “ perfectly *Equal*. When the People had
 “ rebelliously demanded a King, and ---
 “ God suffer’d the Theocracy to be admi-
 “ nistred by a *Viceroy*, there was --- a great
 “ Abatement in the Vigour of this extra-
 “ ordinary Providence.---From *hence* to the
 “ Time of the *Captivity*, the extraordinary
 “ Providence kept *gradually decaying*, till on
 “ their

“ their full Settlement, after their Return,
 “ it entirely ceased.” p. 445.

I have had Occasion to cite these Words before, and I shew’d you some Consequences from them. Dr. *Spencer*, and Mr. *Warburton* seem to express themselves so exactly alike, about the *Imminution* of the *Theocracy*, that one would wonder how it should happen, that Dr. *Spencer*’s Notion is “ a
 “ *Conceit highly absurd*,” and Mr. *Warburton*’s should be so consistent, and easy, and natural. But what I would observe here is, That what here is called “ a *full* Solution
 “ of the Difficulty,” leaves us as much in the dark as any of the Solutions before given. For,

1. The extraordinary Providence, which was over *Particulars*, (by which is always meant such a Providence, that “ no Transgressor escaped Punishment, nor Observer
 “ of the Law missed his Reward”) kept *gradually decaying*, or *gradually withdrawing* to the Time of the Captivity. After *Samuel*’s Time, there was a *great Abatement of its Vigour*: and from his Time, for about five hundred Years together it *gradually decayed*. What now was this *Vigour*,
 or

or what did it consist in? For this ought particularly to be known, in order to judge of its *Abatement*. If it consisted in the constant, temporal Evils, which attended every Transgressor of the Law, till *Saul's* Time, and the constant Blessings that attended every Observer of the Law till the same Time; then as the *Vigour* consisted in this, its *Abatement* must be, in not inflicting *constantly* temporal Evils on the One, or in not giving constantly temporal Blessings to the Other: Or else, in not dispensing constantly so *great* Evil or Good, as was wont in the Time of the *Judges* to be given. It cannot be the *Former* of these Two Notions, because, if the *equal Providence* was *not* constant, it would come to be the same as *Unequal*. For what is the *Common Providence*, or *not extraordinary*, but where Transgressors are often not punished here, but go on and prosper in their Wickedness; and Good Men are often not rewarded, but sometimes suffer?

If Mr. *Warburton* means the *latter* of these Notions, that Good and Evil was not dispensed in so *great a Degree* to *Particulars*, after *Samuel's* Days, as before them; and

and that the Dispensation of Good and Evil to *Particulars* gradually decayed for five hundred Years together, till the Time of the Captivity.—This will require a particular Proof, which hitherto has not been so much as attempted. What *Degrees* of this Dispensation were left *at* the very Time of the Captivity? When the Return from the Captivity came to pass, and the *Extraordinary Providence* revived, Was it such an *Equal* Providence, as was in the Days of the *Judges*, when “no Transgressor escaped Punishment, or Observer of the Law missed his Reward,” Or was it only such a Providence as was in any *given* Time between the Days of *Saul* and *Zedekiah*?

But does not Mr. *Warburton* produce some Evidence, that an Extraordinary Providence revived after the Return? Yes, he does. He cites, *Haggai*, i. 6-11. c. ii. 16-19. *Zech.* viii. 12. *Malac.* iii. 10, 11. p. 417. But none of these Places prove any Thing more, than a promised Blessing to the *Jews*, *nationally considered*; not such a Providence over *Particulars*, as no Transgressor of the Law was to escape Punishment. The Words of *Malachi* are, — *Bring ye all the Tithes*

Tithes into the Storehouse, that there may be Meat in my House, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the Windows of Heaven, and pour you out a Blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the Devourer for your Sakes, and he shall not destroy the Fruits of your Ground; neither shall your Vine cast her Fruit before the Time in the Field, saith the Lord of Hosts. Here is certainly a great Blessing promised; but that it was not an Equal Providence to Particulars, but a National, general Promise, appears from the very next Words. — *All Nations shall call you blessed, for ye shall be a delightful Land.* And so in the Other Texts, a Promise is made by God to the Jews, *that the Ground shall give her Increase, and the Heavens shall give their Dew, and he will bless them in their Seed, and Vine, and Fig Tree, and Olive Tree;* but this does not prove that Equal Providence, for which it is brought. It proves a very strong Promise to bless the Nation of the Jews; and to protect them against the Devourer, that he should not destroy the Fruits of their Ground. But as to a Proof
of

an Extraordinary Providence, in the Sense that no Transgressor was to escape Punishment, nor no Observer of the Law miss his Reward, I cannot see the Force of his Argument.

Thus have I considered, what this great Author has told us concerning the *Jewish Theocracy*. How far his Notions agree to *Fact*, or plain *History*, I must leave you to judge. To me, what has been hitherto published, is all Confusion, and full of inextricable Difficulties. But as he has promised us to clear up this Matter in his Third Volume, I shall wait with Impatience till that is published, when I hope to see all these, and such like Objections removed, and the whole set in an intelligible Light.

I now proceed to another Subject, on which Mr. *Warburton* has given us his Sentiments very freely, I mean Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology. If on this Head I am somewhat longer, than I have been on any of the former, it is because here are more Materials, in which I differ from him. Matters of Chronology, in those early Times,

Times, are certainly very intricate: And Sir *Isaac* has shewn so very great Sagacity in adjusting and reconciling the fabulous Stories of the Antients, and in making them accord, that if he has not hit upon the *Truth*, he has made the whole so very *probable*, so consistent with the course of Nature, and with itself, and above all with sacred History, that it is not easy to shake so compact and well united a Building. At least I think Mr. *Warburton* has not done it, even supposing Sir *Isaac* to have been mistaken in his Chronology of *Egypt*.

Mr. *Warburton* begins with some very high strain'd Compliments to so great a Genius; "a Man, says he, whom *Science* and "*Virtue* seemed to be at Strife about, which "*should render him most illustrious, while* "*they equally concurred to make him the* "*Ornament of human Kind."* p. 206. But alas, "*the most sublime Understanding has* "*its Bounds, and what is much more to be* "*lamented, the strongest Mind has its Foi-* "*ble. This Miracle of Science, who so* "*opened the present course of Nature to* "*human View, as if he had been imme-* "*diately enlightned by the Almighty Au-*
thor

"thor of it, when he came to *correct old Time in the Chronology of Egypt.*" ---

Hold; Sir. Did this great Genius ever attempt "to *correct old Time*" in the Chronology of *Egypt*, or in the Chronology of any other Place? No. No more than he attempted to *correct* the Laws of Gravitation. His Design was "to make Chronology suit with the course of Nature, with Astronomy, with sacred History, with *Herodotus* the Father of History, and with itself," as he tells us himself in his *Introduction*, p. 8. But he never attempted, that I ever heard of till now, to "*correct old Time*" in the Chronology of *Egypt*, or in any of his Motions. Are *Chronologers*, disagreeing, jangling, disputing for ever, the same as *old Time*? Or are not their Disputes about *old Time*, such as ought if possible to be corrected?

Well. But let Mr. *Warburton* proceed —
 "When he came to correct old Time in the Chronology of *Egypt*, he suffered himself to be drawn away from the *Goshen of Moses* into the thickest of the *Egyptian* Darkness, by little lying Greek Mythologists, and Story Tellers."

How

How are the mighty fallen! Does not Sir Isaac make use of every Author that Mr. Warburton himself does? Does he prefer any *Mythologist* to a *Good Historian*? Does he not use every Help he can get? With what Conscience then, with what Justice is he charged with "suffering himself to be drawn away" from Truth and Light "by " *little lying Greek Mythologists and Story " Tellers?"*

But so it was; He was drawn away by them. "For it is to be observed, that Sir " *Isaac's Egyptian Chronology* was fashioned ONLY to support his *Grecian*; which " he erected on one of those sublime Con- " ceptions peculiar to his amazing Genius." p. 207.

Behold Sir, and admire the Consistency of FLATTERY! When "Science and Virtue " were at Strife about which should render" this great Man "most illustrious," *Virtue* contributed but little to his Glory: For 't seems, "He fashioned his *Egyptian Chro- " nology,*" not to search out *Truth*; not to reconcile it with the Course of Nature, or the Bible, or any good History, but "ONLY " to support his *Grecian Chronology*."

Q

And

And truly *Science* had as little Success in forming this Great Man as *Virtue* had; for instead of conducting him, as she ought, she suffer'd him to be "drawn away by little lying *Greek* Story Tellers." At the same time (for there is no End of Self-Contradiction) *Science* did its Part; for tho' he was drawn away by these "little lying *Greek* Mythology gifts," he "erected his *Grecian* Chronology on one of those sublime Conceptions peculiar to his amazing Genius."

One would think by this, that his *Greek* Chronology was all true and right; and acknowledged such by Mr. *Warburton*, however false his *Egyptian* Chronology may be. "The sublime Conceptions peculiar to this amazing Genius" were such, were so noble, were so superlatively grand, "as if he had been immediately enlightned" by the Author of Nature. Who would not conclude, that a Chronology founded on these "sublime Conceptions", was most perfect, exact, true? And yet, by a strange Reverse of Things, a Chronology, both *Egyptian* and *Greek*, "erected on these sublime Conceptions peculiar to this amazing Genius" is all false. Never surely was Compliment
so

so awkwardly paid. Amazing Genius! Form'd by *Science* and *Virtue*! Enlightned by the Author of Nature! The Ornament of Human Kind! Master of the most sublime Conceptions! What is not to be expected from such Compliments? This Great Man, What has he done? Why, he has formed a Scheme, or erected one, on one of those "sublime Conceptions peculiar to him," that "contradicts sacred Scripture, and the very Nature of Things;" in which "the Premises," which he uses, "do not infer" what they are brought for. His System is "not only repugnant to the Bible, but to *itself*." It contains "such a strange Mixture of Barbarity and Politeness, Strength and Impotence, Riches and Poverty; is such an Inconsistency in the Character of Ages, as makes it only worthy the wild Imagination of those *poetic Fabulists*, from whence it is collected." p. 280. "So pestilent a Mischief in the Road to Truth is a favourite Hypothesis! An Evil, which retarding our Progress at almost every Step, we have had too frequent Occasion

"to lament in the Course of this Enquiry."
p. 207.

It is true, that when a *favourite Hypothesis* has been indulged, Truth is seldom pursued as it ought; nay usually it diverts Men from the *Road to Truth*, and will make them use not only Premises, which do not infer what they are designed to support; but even false Premises, which being supposed to be true, will not, even then, infer the Conclusion they are design'd for. I apprehend this to be much more the Case of Mr. Warburton, than of Sir Isaac Newton. However, when all the high strain'd Compliments upon that *amazing Genius* end in such grievous Accusations,--- in his contradicting the *History*, nay, and the ASTRONOMY of the Bible; in his contradicting himself, and the Nature of Things, Mr. Warburton might surely have been contented to let it "*blaze and pass away*." But he was willing to express his Fears of some bad Use that might be made some Time or other of Sir Isaac's System, and at the same time, I suppose, to pass a great Compliment upon the *Bible*: And let it be repeated here, "The Bible is ETERNAL like
the

“ the *Sun*, the never-failing Fountain of
 “ Light and Life.” p. 208. Sounding
 Words, but no Meaning. If he means
Eternal, a *parte ante*, the oldest Part of
 that Book was wrote a little above *three*
thousand Years ago; and this is as much
 ETERNAL as the Sun, which was created
 between five and six thousand Years ago:
 or if he means *eternal*, a *parte post*, does he
 think the Sun will endure strictly *for ever*?
 So that this Strain of Compliment amounts
 to no more than this, That a Thing which
 is *not eternal*, is *eternal*, like another Thing,
 which is in no Sense *eternal*. Who can help
 admiring such excessive, such neat Compli-
 ments? But enough of this.

Before Mr. *Warburton* attempts to con-
 fute Sir *Isaac Newton*'s System, he premises
 Two Observations “ concerning the Nature
 “ of this System, and the Quality of his
 “ Evidence.” p. 211.

The First is, “ That this System is so
 “ far from being a Support, Defence, or
 “ Illustration of the antient History of
 “ these Two Heroes [*Osiris* and *Sesostris*]
 “ that it contradicts and subverts all that is
 “ clear and certain in that History, and

" adds new Confusion to all that is obscure."
ibid. In a Charge of this Nature against a
 Man, whom Virtue and Science were at
 Strife to form, One ought to expect very
 clear Evidence. Accordingly Mr. Warbur-
 ton tells us, --- " The Annals of Egypt, as
 " may be seen by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Si-*
 " *culus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and others, who
 " all copied from them, were as express and
 " unvariable for the real Diversity of
 " *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, as the History of
 " *England* is for that of any Two of our
 " own Country Monarchs. For they were
 " not vague Names of *uncertain* or adjoin-
 " ing Times; but one the most illustrious
 " of their *Demigods*; and the other, of
 " their *Kings*, each fixed in precise Periods;
 " and those vastly different from one ano-
 " ther." *ibid.*

We have here an Observation delivered
 with as much Positiveness and Precision, as
 if it were a Maxim indisputable.

First, Here is a direct Assertion, that
Herodotus, and the rest of the great Names
 here mentioned, ALL COPIED the Annals
 of *Egypt*. Now, what Authority has Mr.
Warburton to prove, that *Herodotus* ever
 copied

copied any Annals of Egypt, before the Days of Psammitichus? Herodotus himself never pretends to such Authority; no, nor does he pretend to know the Truth from such Annals; but only tells us, that what he says, the Priests told him. (a) He therefore very rightly and judiciously, and becoming the Character of a faithful Historian, distinguishes betwixt the Days before and after Psammitichus's Time. What he relates of their old Affairs depends upon the Credit of the Egyptian Priests, those "Masters in the Trade" of Lying and Invention, who told him what they thought fit. And therefore he says of those Times, καὶ ἡκούσας, as I have heard. When he comes to give an Account of Psammitichus, he tells us, how the Carians and Ionians came into Egypt, and how they were placed below the City Bubastis, l. ii. c. 154. A proper Place to give the Greeks, because they could the better secure Egypt from any Incursions from the East. These Carians and Ionians were the first of a strange Language that dwelt in Egypt; and they had Egyptian

(a) V. Herod, l. 2. c. 3. 5. 10. 12. 29. 55. 79. 99. 100. 102. 116. 120. 122. 123. 127. &c.

Children deliver'd to them to be instructed in the *Greek Tongue*; from whom sprung those, who in *Herodotus's Time* were the *Interpreters*. Now says he, from these, who dwell in *Egypt*, and have Commerce with the *Greeks* we know of certainty, αἰρεσίως, the Affairs of *Egypt* from *Psammitichus's Time*, and afterwards. That is, from the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* 64, when *Psammitichus* began to reign, or of the same *Æra* 118, when he died. How does this Account of *Herodotus* himself agree with Mr. *Warburton*, who tells us, *he copied the Annals of Egypt*?

2. *Manetho*, who wrote (b) from the *Sacred Books*, (c) refutes *Herodotus* in many Things, as relating falsely the *Egyptian Affairs*. So *Josephus* tells us. Did the *Egyptian Annals* then differ from one another? Or did *Herodotus* falsify them, since he told so many *Falshoods* about the *Egyptian Affairs*, in Mistake, or Contradiction to *Manetho's Annals*?

(b) Ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν. *Josep. c. Ap. l. 1.*

(c) Πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἁψευσμένον. *Jos. c. Ap. l. 1.*

3. *Diodorus Siculus* is the next, who we are told copied these *Annals of Egypt*. Now He owns, that *Osiris* was *Serapis* according to some; *Bacchus*, *Pluto*, *Ammon*, *Jupiter*, according to others; but most think him to be *Pan*. l. i. 15. Does He agree with *Herodotus* in the Number, or the Names of the Old *Egyptian* Kings? No. Does He agree in their Actions, or the Places they built? No. Does He mention *Nitocris*, whom *Herodotus* has? Or has *Herodotus* *Diodorus's* *Bufiris* and *Uchoreus*? Do they agree even in the later Times? How then is it that Mr. *Warburton* tells us, that He and *Herodotus* copied from the *Annals of Egypt*?

4. When he tells us with so much Precision, what these *Annals of Egypt* say, and adds, that they [*Osiris* and *Sesostris*] are not Names of uncertain Times;--- Can he say from those *Annals*, when either of these Men, so distinct as he pretends they were, lived? Where are these *Annals of Egypt* that fix the "precise Periods," when either *Osiris* or *Sesostris* lived? Were these *Annals* themselves extant in *Herodotus's* Days? Or
were

were not their *ancient Records* destroy'd before his Time ?

But it is not yet Time to enter into this Matter, till we have seen from Mr. *Warburton*, himself what Credit is due to these Annals. He therefore thus goes on in his Observation.

“ The History of *Egypt* was, not, like
 “ that of antient *Greece* and *Suevia*, to be
 “ found only in the traditional Tales of
 “ *Bards* and *Mythologists* ; nor yet, like
 “ that of early *Britain*, the Invention of
 “ *sedentary Monks*, but consisted of the *an-*
 “ *nual and authentic Records* of an *active*
 “ and *learned Priesthood*.” p. 212.

May we not now expect to meet with something fixt and certain, and much to be depended on from these *annual and authentic Records* ; these faithful Accounts wrote by “ an active and learned Priesthood ?” They were not “ the Invention of Seditary Monks ;” no, nor “ traditional Tales of Bards and Mythologists ;” nor corrupt Stories of we know not Who, but *authentic Accounts* wrote by learned Priests. If Sir *Isaac* therefore has contradicted, or varied from These, it is easy, without Doubt, to confute him from such Establish'd Authority.

rity. But how soon are these *annual* and *authentic Records* turned by Mr. Warburton himself into the mere *Invention* of *Sedentary Priests*, a Set of Men, as bad to the full, *quoad hoc*, as *Sedentary Monks*. The very next Words, after he has told us, that these *authentic Records* came from an active and learned *Priesthood*, are these, --- “ In which
 “ the only Transgression against Truth that
 “ has yet been discovered, is, that natural
 “ Partiality common to all national Histo-
 “ riographers, of *extending back* their *Annals*
 “ to an *unreasonable Length of Time*.” So then the History of *Egypt* was not *Invention*; it was only *extended back* by an active and learned *Priesthood* to an *unreasonable Length of Time*. These Priests could make *authentic Records*, which *sedentary Monks* could not do without the Imputation of *Invention*.

Be it so then, that these active Priests *extended back* their *Annals* to an *unreasonable Length of Time*, the Business of a Good Chronologer should be, one would think, to correct these Corruptions or Mistakes, to bring down to their right Periods those Accounts that were *unreasonably extended backward* :

backward: And if *Osiris* was fixed in any Period of their *Demigods*, how precisely and exactly soever those Forgers of Records had placed him, yet, if he was demonstrably placed wrong, and no Circumstances will agree to such a Period, it cannot but be right to bring him down to a Time, when Circumstances will agree to him.

“ THE ONLY Transgression against Truth
 “ in the History of Old *Egypt* was, the
 “ EXTENDING BACK their Annals to an
 “ unreasonable Length of Time.” This is
 asserted p. 212. If we go on to p. 245-6.
 These *Egyptian* Priests, that could not be
 charged with any *Invention*, except the One
 just mentioned, are charged with “ INVENT-
 “ ING a Set of Fables, and by a strong
 “ Effort of their Skill, throwing a general
 “ Confusion over the HISTORY of the Ac-
 “ tions of their Heroes, by bringing their
 “ Births even lower down than the Times of
 “ their certainly recorded Worship.” So
 that these Masters in their Trade, these ac-
 tive and learned Priests, not only extended
 back their Annals, but corrupted and
 brought lower down the Actions of their
 Heroes. What now becomes of the *Authenticity*

thenticity of Annals owned to be corrupted,
both *backwards* and *forwards*?

Mr. *Warburton* is endeavouring to shew,
“ from what Sources those Accounts arose,
“ on which the *low Date* of the *Egyptian*
“ Gods is founded.” “ The first Source,
“ says he, was the *Address* of the *Egyptian*
“ *Priests* to screen their Hero Worship
“ from the *Inquisition of the Curious*. We
“ have observed above from a famous *Fable*,
“ which the *Egyptian Priests* INVENTED to
“ record the Danger this Superstition in-
“ curr’d, and their Art in *evading* it, that
“ the Original of their *Hero-Gods* was, a
“ Subject MALITIOUSLY PURSUED by the
“ FREE INQUIRERS of those Times. For
“ the Discredit of this Superstition was, that
“ these Gods had been Men; and the Proof
“ of their Humanity was fetched from their
“ *late Existence*. Now what did THESE
“ MASTERS IN THEIR TRADE do to evade
“ this Proof? We have seen before what
“ they did to *obscure* the *Inquiry*. Why,
“ by an *equal Effort of their Skill*, they
“ INVENTED a Set of Fables, — which
“ brought their Births even *lower down* than
“ the Times of their certainly recorded
“ Worship.

"Worship. What they gained by this
 "was considerable; it *threw a general Con-*
fusion over the History of their Actions."
 p. 245-6.

These Passages are so curious, that they
 will afford some considerable Remarks. As

1. It is granted, that the *Priests*, the active and learned Priests, *extended back* their Annals to an "unreasonable Length of Time:" And, then they brought the Births of their Hero Gods "lower down than the Times of their certainly recorded Worship." Had they kept within tolerable Bounds either Way, some Regard might be paid to the Learning of these *Masters in their Trade*. But their Extravagancy was such, as to extend their Annals back *thirty-two*, or *thirty-three thousand* Years before the Creation. Now, how Annals *extended back* thus much, and likewise *forwards*, can be of any Value towards settling the Time when any Man lived, I do not apprehend. And which can best be relied on for settling any Point of Chronology, the *little lying Greek Mythologists and Story Tellers*, or the *great lying Egyptian*

tian Priests, who had so much *addresses*, and were so much *Masters in their Trade*?

2. A History of *Thirty Thousand Years*, (nay some mightily enlarge the Number to several Hundred Thousand, but to take the smallest number, *Thirty Thousand*) such a History of Kings, most of whom are expressly said to have done nothing worthy of notice, and not “the *Invention* of Sedentary “Priests,” must be very curious; especially as it is to be neither contrary to Scripture, nor the Reason of Things: And such were the Old *Egyptian Annals*, those *authentic Records* of an *active Priesthood*.

3. *Manetho* was an *Egyptian Chief Priest*, who wrote the History of his own Country, and was admitted to their *Secret Books*. Let us suppose these to be the Annals which *Herodotus* copied. Now did *Herodotus* copy *authentic Annals*, and did *Manetho* do the same, and yet condemn *Herodotus* of *Falshood*? It was well known that *Manetho* wrote at the command of (d) *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and

(d) Βασιλεὺς μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαίῳ φιλαδέλφῳ — Ἡμᾶς δὲ λογιζέσθαι περὶ πάντων ἂν ἐὰν βύλη ἡμᾶς ἐξέλῃσιν πραγμάτων ἐπιζητήσει σοὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τῶ ἀνθρώπου γίνεσθαι, καθὼς κεύσας μοι περιφνήσεις σοι ἃ ἡμᾶς ἱερὰ βιβλία γράψοντα ὑπὸ τῷ πρῶτον τρισμύσιν ἔβηκεν. Syncel. p. 42.

that

that *he had the HOLY BOOKS wrote as is said by the great Mercury before him.* These he interpreted, and afterwards he wrote of their Gods, Demigods, Heroes, and mortal Kings, of which the Egyptians (*e*) have compiled a long and trifling Mythology. The Egyptians then were Mythologists and Story Tellers, as well as the little Lying Greeks; and therefore to be as little depended on as the Greeks for History of Facts done by their Gods, Demigods, Heroes, &c. Now, what Credit is to be given to these very Books that *Manetho* copied? Mr. *Warburton* tells us, that “the Ignorance of the Greeks about Egyptian Affairs may fairly be collected from their Age, and from the Authors of their Intelligence. They all lived long after the times in question; and tho’ they received indeed their Information from Egypt it self, yet for the most part, it was not till after the Destruction of that antient Empire, and when it was now become a Province in Succession, to Asiatick and European Conquerors; when their ANTIENT AND PUBLIC RECORDS WERE DESTROYED, and their very learn-

(e) Πολλὴν ἢ εὐάσπον συνήρουν μυθολογίας. *ibid.*

"ing and Genius changed to a conformity
 " with their Grecian Masters." p. 28. And
 again, *Egypt* " was long the Mart of
 " Knowledge for the Eastern and the West-
 " tern World; and as nothing so much re-
 " commends this kind of Commodity as its
 " Antiquity, they set it off by FORGED RE-
 " CORDS, that extended to an unreasonable
 " Length of Time: Accounts of which have
 " been conveyed to us by Antient Authors,
 " and fully confuted by the Modern." p. 29.

If this were the Case, I ask then, Whether the *annual* and *authentic Records* (those Labours of " the active and learned Priest-
 " hood") were in *Being* at the Times of *Herodotus* or *Manetho*; much more in the Times of *Strabo* and *Plutarch*? *Cambyses*, when he conquer'd *Egypt*, carried away with him the Records of *Egypt*; and consequently *Herodotus* could copy none of them; but faithfully related what he could learn from the Priests. If *Herodotus* could not, such as came long after him could not: They could only write from what Mr. *Warburton* allows to be, and calls FORGED RECORDS. And that they did do so; appears from the

great Disagreement among all that are concerned in this Affair.

4. *Eusebius* saw Reason to attack these (*f*) idle trifling Records of *Egypt*, and complained much of them; and then comes *Panodorus*, a Monk of *Egypt*, and falls foul on *Eusebius* for not rightly apprehending his Authors.

5. There is an Old Chronicon of *Egypt*, which contained an History of Thirty-Six Thousand Five Hundred and Twenty-Five Years, which ended in *Nectanebus's* Days, *i. e.* some Time before *Alexander's* Expedition; and this differs from *Manetho's* Numbers. Without now mentioning *Eratosthenes*, or *Africanus*, or *Syncellus*,--- From which of all these can we learn the authentic Annals of *Egypt*?

6. Since Mr. *Warburton* tells us, that "the ONLY Transgression against Truth in these Egyptian Priests was their extending back their Annals to an unreasonable Length of Time;" I ask, ---Did they not invent Fables and Lies to support their Idolatry? Did they not invent History? Did

(*f*) Ο' Ευσέβιος μεμψόμενος τῆς φλυαείας. *ibid.*

they

they not *designedly* throw *Confusion* upon all their History? It was the Effect of a *very active Priesthood*, tho' not of a *very honest* one, thus to *forged Records* to set off their own Antiquity; and He himself owns, that they transgressed against Truth in *many* Respects; tho' here, he says, they did it but in *One ONLY*.

7. I must not quit this famous Passage of Mr. Warburton, before I have made one more Remark upon it. Every one sees with what Zeal and Warmth he treats the present *Freethinkers*. Now it happens that He has an Ocasion to speak of the *Egyptian Invention* to evade an Objection made to their Religion. The Objection was, "That their Gods had been *Men*, and the Proof of their Humanity was fetched from their late Existence." p. 245. "This Subject, says he, was *maliciously* pursued by the *Free Inquirers* of that Age." Why, I pray, does he call this a *malicious Pursuit*? Ought it not to have been pursued by every Lover of Truth? Why must that be imputed to *Malice*, which was so just, so reasonable, so unanswerable an Objection to those *knarvish Inventors*, who were so re-

folutely determined at all Adventures to maintain their superstitious Follies?

Hero Gods, and their Worship implied a manifest Absurdity. The *Free Inquirers* of those antient Times saw this very clearly, and objected the Folly of paying Adoration to Men of late Existence. The *Egyptian* Priests by "a *strong Effort of their Skill*," contrived to "throw a general Confusion "over the History of their Actions," in order to blind Mankind, and to "make "them as indisposed to believe the Old "Stories of them, as these *new Fables*," "which it was impossible they should "credit." p. 246. I will not here ask, How he could say, that the ONLY Transgression against Truth in these *Egyptian Priests* was their *extending back* their Annals; But why is that here imputed by him to *Malice* in the *Free Inquirers* of those Times, since they had *Truth* on *their* Sides, and direct *Knavery* and *Forgery* was on the *Egyptian* Priests Side? I do not wonder, that all who would *freely enquire* now-a-days into Things, are treated by him as Fools, or Knaves, or Blockheads, ignorant in History, in Logic, in *Latin*, or *Greek*,
in

in good Manners, or in Politicks. Could an *Egyptian Priest* two or three thousand Years ago, have better acted his Part? Could he have used more *Address* to make his Adversary odious or contemptible? Somebody makes Objection to Hero Gods, and Hero Worship. Presently, He is a *Free Inquirer*: It is all *Malice*. As if the Fault lay in the *Free Inquirer*, and not in the *forging Priest*; as if it were a Crime to discredit so scandalous a Superstition, or to attack what those "*Masters in their Trade*" did, either to evade so strong a Proof, or to obscure the Enquiry.

Lastly, It may be worth observing here, that *Osiris* and *Isis* were placed in the Dynasty of the *Egyptian Gods*: And these had been *Mortals* deified. Now, if the Account here given of the Management of these Priests be true, These Gods should probably have been placed *higher* in Antiquity than *Manetho* has placed them; since these Priests placed their Gods *lower down* than the *Times of their* CERTAINLY RECORDED *Worship*. Now the Sixteenth Dynasty of *Men* began about the Days of *Abraham*. And the other fifteen prior to this lasted

above 3500 Years; And before these were the *Demigods*, for 214 Years; and before these was the Dynasty of *Gods*, in which *Osiris* is placed. If then this God is placed *lower down* than the Times of his *certainly recorded* Worship; he is certainly still placed long *before the Creation* of the World; and yet it seems he is *placed lower* by these Priests than he ought to be. What Regard now is to be paid to these *Annals*, thus abominably forged or corrupted, and which are extended so *unreasonably backwards*? Or how does it appear, that these *Heroes* were placed *lower down* than the Times of their *certainly recorded* Worship?

Thus much to his *first Observation*, made in order to weaken Sir *Isaac's* Account of the *Egyptian Chronology*. His *Second* is taken from the *Quality of the Evidence*, which is another "*legitimate Prejudice*" against this New Chronology. It is chiefly the "*fabulous History of Greece*, as delivered by "*their Poets and Mythologists*." p. 212. How easy is it here to declaim upon "*that infinite Disorder, confounding all Succession of Time,—its dismember'd and ill-join'd Parts of Time?*" I admit, that
the

the *fabulous* History of *Greece* is bad enough; but surely the *Fabulous*, Lying, Romantic History of *Egypt*, is worse, or at least as bad. The *Greek Mythologists* have said very false Things: but then they have said something true: Whereas the "active learned Priesthood" of *Egypt* have *invented* a whole History of thirty thousand Years that is *all* false. The *Fabulous* Ages among the *Greeks* are miserably confused; and those, who have wrote about those Times, have made very bad Work: But notwithstanding that, if from some Circumstances mentioned by the Poets and Mythologists, a Man of Judgment and Sagacity can pick out Materials agreeable to the Nature of Things, to Sacred History, to the Course of Nature, to the best Historians; and can free what he says from Repugnances, --- Surely it is absurd to argue, that such Evidence is not to be admitted. The Difficulty is to find out in the *fabulous* History, what is true, and to separate it from what is false: Now if some Circumstances, which the *fabulous* Writers mention, exactly agree with what true History relates, and all so tally together, as to confirm each other; no

Reason can be given why a Man should not make use of them to serve the Purpose of Truth. Nor must any one argue, that whoever relates any Fable is not to be credited in what appears not to be Fable, unless you would destroy all History universally.

What now is the real Use made by Sir *Isaac* of these *Fabulous* Writers? Why, he has attempted from some Facts recorded by them, such as the Genealogies of many, the Numbers of Generations passed, and such like Circumstances, to settle, in some Cases, the Distances of Time from one to another; and every Body must own, that he has observed a great Co-incidence of Circumstances, which had escaped other Chronologers. He has tried, by a Method little minded by others, to determine the Years, or within the Compass of some few Years, when certain Facts were done; and this agreeable to the Course of Nature, and to the Helps which other Books could afford him.

It is granted, that "*Fable* naturally joins together later and former Times." p. 213. But does Sir *Isaac* depend upon *fabulous* Writers alone? Has he no other Supports
for

for his Chronology? Yes. Mr. *Warburton* is forced to own, that the "*Historians* of "*Greece* and *Egypt* are the *other* Part of "*Sir Isaac's* Evidence." *ibid.* What would he have more? Would he have had him make use of Mr. *Warburton's* "active and "learned Priesthood," the *greatest* *Liar* that ever sat down to *invent* History? No. But "These *Historians* ought to be *heard* "out, but this he will not do." I ask, Is he to take *every* Thing for granted, that these *Historians* say? Mr. *Warburton* himself owns in this very Page, that "*antient* "*History* *falsely* *improved*" certain *Facts* "*through* *Mistakes*." Was he not then to take the Method he did; not to give into the *Inventions* of the *Sedentary* *Priests* of *Egypt*, those *Masters* in their *Trade* of *Lying*, but to follow what appears to agree to Nature, to Astronomy, to History, to the Bible, and to such Chronological Marks as might serve to direct and guide him through that wild, impracticable Forest of Antient History?

Mr. *Warburton* is pleased to observe, that "His Proofs are taken from *Greek* *Mythologists*, consisting of Scraps picked up "promiscuously

"promiscuously from Fabulists, Poets,
 "Scholiasts, &c." What an excellent Chrono-
 logy would he frame, were he to take in-
 to his Aid none of the *Poets*, none of the
Scholiasts, none of all those Books, which
 his extensive, " &c." comprehends? If
 he resolves against the Aid of all *Poets*, and
 all *Scholiasts*, and all *Fabulists*, I know not
 whether he would not give us as false a
 Chronology, as his Sedentary Priests of
Egypt did a History; and, if the *Greeks* are
 all to be rejected as *Liars*, I am apt to
 think there will remain but little Founda-
 tion for true Chronology or History either.
 But why should he be so displeased with
 the *Poets*, and the old *Scholiasts*? Are they
 of no Authority? Or are they of Authority,
 when he uses them, and not when Sir *Isaac*
 does? How often hath he cited them in his
 favourite Account of the Mysteries? In one
 Page, I find *Callimachus*, and *Nonnus*, and
Lucan, cited, p. 162. *Euripides* and *Aristo-*
phanes, and *Sophocles*, and *Apollonius Rho-*
dus, and *Ovid*, and *Virgil*, &c. very often.
 And as to *Scholiasts*, in one Page 206, he
 cites those upon *Euripides*, *Pindar*, *Sophocles*. How absurd is it for him to con-
 demn

damn that great Man for using *Scraps pick'd up promiscuously from Fabulists, Poets, Scholiasts*, when he himself does the same Thing in Confirmation of his darling Discovery of the Mysteries?

This was Mr. Warburton's second Observation; and now I'll consider "the Inference he draws from them." It is this: "We have, in the Diversity of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, a Circumstance of History delivered in the fullest, and most unvariable Manner, by *Annalists of the best Authority*. All succeeding Ages agreed in the Fact; and very strong, collateral Evidence supports it." p. 213. Now,

1. These *Annalists of the best Authority*, are those *Egyptian Priests*, whom all the World knows to be the greatest *Liars*, and meer *Inventors* of History for many thousands of Years before the Creation. He himself has accused them of *forging Records*, and of designedly *throwing Confusion over all their History*. Are These the Men, whom he would have had Sir *Isaac* implicitly follow in their Chronology?

2. What is this "very strong, collateral Evidence?" What Authors? How near the

the Time of *Osiris* did they live? What Opportunities had they of knowing the Truth? What Grounds had they for their Assertions? Had the *Annalists* he refers to, any Knowledge of even *Letters* in those early Days near the Time that *Osiris* is pretended to have liv'd? Have you any Chronologer or Historian now extant, either *Egyptian* or *Greek*, from whom you can settle the *Annals* of *Egypt*? Or is there any that lived within a thousand, or many thousands of Years of *Osiris* Days, if we follow the absurd, wild Chronology of the *Egyptians*? The Priests told *Herodotus* some Stories, which he seems not to have believed, because he opposes what might fairly be depended upon after *Psammetichus's* Reign to what he had heard: So that He knew nothing of these *Annals*, or *Annalists* of the best Authority. And then, as to Mr. Warburton's "strong collateral Evidence,"—What is it, but that later Writers have told the Story upon as small Grounds as former ones have done? For as to contemporary Writers, of the same Age with *Osiris*, or very many Ages after him, there are none that mention him. This then
is

is what he means by saying "all succeeding
 " Ages agree in the Fact," --- viz. Writers
 not *Egyptian*, but what came after the times
 of *Sesoftris* (even supposing that he lived as
 late as Sir *Isaac* makes him) a great deal above
 500 Years, relate some things which they
 had learnt from other Authors, or from In-
 scriptions, or from Hearsay. Mr. *Warburton*,
 at 2500 Years distance, considered as an *Eng-
 lish* Writer, may be deemed a collateral Evi-
 dence, as well as any *Greek* or *Roman* Wri-
 ter whatever.

This being premised, let me next enquire
 how he invalidates Sir *Isaac*'s Notion, that
Osiris and *Sesoftris* were the same. Sir *Isaac*'s
 Argument for their Identity of Person is this
 --- "*Osiris*, *Bacchus*, and *Sesoftris* lived about
 " the same time, and by the Relation of
 " Historians were all of them Kings of *all*
 " *Egypt*, and reigned at *Thebes*, and adorned
 " that City, and were very potent by Land
 " and Sea: all *three* were great Conquerors,
 " and carried on their Conquests by Land
 " through *Asia* as far as *India*; all *three* came
 " over the *Hellefpont*, and were there in
 " Danger of losing their Army: All *three*
 " conquered *Thrace*, and there put a Stop to
 " their

" their Victories, and returned back from
 " thence into *Egypt*: All *three* left Pillars
 " with Inscriptions in their Conquests, and
 " therefore all *three* must be *one* and the
 " same King: And this King can be no
 " other than *Sesac*. All *Egypt* including
 " *Thebais*, *Æthiopia* and *Libya*, had no
 " common King before the Expulsion of the
 " Shepherds who reigned in the lower
 " *Egypt*; no Conqueror of *Syria*, *India*,
 " *Asia Minor*, and *Thrace* before *Sesac*; and
 " the sacred History admits of no *Egyptian*
 " Conqueror of *Palestine*, before this King."

NEWTON'S *Chronol.* p. 193. This is one
 Argument of Sir *Isaac*'s, and to shew it of
 no Force, Mr. *Warburton* has compared the
 Actions of King *Arthur* and *William the Con-*
queror in thirteen Particulars, from whence
 he argues --- " Here the Number of similar
 " Circumstances in the Lives of *Arthur* and
 " *William* are evidently more Characteristic
 " of ONE than those in the History of *Osi-*
ris and *Sesostris*. Yet we know that *Ar-*
thur and *William* were really Two Men
 " of Two very distant Ages." p. 216.

Did not Mr. *Warburton* see, or was he will-
 ing to conceal, the Force of the Argument
 which

which Sir *Isaac* urges? It does not lie in this only, that they did *similar* Actions, which would alone be to no more purpose than if he had said they had each two Hands, and each eat when they were hungry, as his two Heroes did likewise. — But in this particular Fact, that there was but *One Egyptian* King that reigned over all *Egypt*, *Æthiopia* and *Libya*, till after the Expulsion of the Shepherds, and yet all these *Three* are said to have done so. Suppose now that *Arthur* and *William* had agreed in so many Instances as Mr. *Warburton* says, and then it had been added, that *Britain* was never conquered but by *One*: Would not it then have been true, that if these two conquered *Britain*, and yet *Britain* was never but *once* conquered. — *Arthur* and *William* would have been only different Names of the same Person?

Now *Herodotus* tells us, that *Sesostris* was the (g) ONLY *Ægyptian* that reigned over *Æthiopia*. *Strabo* says, that *Sesostris* was the (b) FIRST that conquered *Æthiopia*: and in

(g) Μῦθος Ἀργυπίης Ἀιθιοπίης ἡγεῖς. Herod. l. 2. c. 110.

(b) φαίνεται τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα, καὶ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν πρῶτος κατεστράμενος αὐτ. αἰκ. *Sesostris*. *Strabo* p. 1114. l. 1. Edit. Amf. alias. p. 769.

another

another Place he speaks of Him as (i) *over-*
running all Æthiopia as far as the Cinnamon-
bearing Region. Now if Osiris conquered
and reigned over Æthiopia, and Sesostris was
the First and only One, or the only Ægyptian
that conquered and reigned over Æthiopia;
these Two must be One and the same Person.

That Osiris was an Ægyptian, and reigned
over Ethiopia, Diodorus Siculus tells us: For
He (k) appointed Busiris to take care of those
Parts which lay towards Phœnicia, and the
Sea [*i. e.* the lower Egypt]; and he appointed
Antæus to take care of Ethiopia and Libya.
He reigned therefore over all Egypt, and
over Ethiopia and Libya. When he con-
quered Ethiopia, (l) he taught them Agricul-
ture, and he built considerable Cities, and left
proper Persons to take care of the Country,
and to gather the Tributes. Thence he (m)
marched through Arabia, by the Red Sea, to

(i) Σέσωσται την Αἰθιοπίαν ἐπὶ ἡλθεν ἅπασαν μέχρι τῆς
κινναμώδου. Strab. p. 1138. alias 790.

(k) Εὐμελίας δὲ τάξας τῶν μὲν πρὸς φοινίκην καλλι-
μένων μέρων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βάσιυν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ
τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ λιβύην Ἀνταίων. Diod. l. 1. p. 10. Ed. Steph.

(l) Κατὰ δὲ Αἰθιοπίαν, διδάξατο τὴν ἀνδραπύς τὰ
πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν, καὶ πόλεις ἀξιολόγους κτίσας καὶ καταλι-
πὼν τοὺς οὐμελισσομένους τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἐσπράξα-
μένους. ibid. p. 11.

(m) Ἐκείνη πορεύσασθαι τὴν πορείαν δι' Ἀραβίας πρὸς
τὴν Ερυθρὰν θάλασσαν, ὡς ἰδὼν καὶ τὴν τέλειος τῆς οὐκ-
μένης. ibid. p. 12.

the

the Indies, and the furthestmost Parts of the Earth. Now these Actions can agree only to *Sesoftris*; and are all founded on the Authority of the best Historians; not pick'd up from Poets; or any Mythologists. If the Proof be wanted that *Sesoftris* did these things, *Strabo* and *Herodotus* are Evidences just cited: and *Lucan*, though a Poet, may be added for his Western Conquests.

Venit ad occasum mundique extrema Sesoftris. l. 10.

The Question now is, whether *Osiris* and *Sesoftris* are different Persons, or are they only two Names of one and the same Person?

To prove them really distinct Persons, Mr. *Warburton* assures us, " That it was an old Egyptian Custom to call their earlier Heroes after the Name of their earlier Gods." p. 217. This may account for *Sesoftris*'s being called *Osiris*, if ever that was their Custom; tho' a much better, and much more natural Reason might be assigned. But here the Reader is sadly disappointed, since Mr. *Warburton* has not produced one single Instance of this. *Sesoftris*, as far as I can find, was never called *Osiris*; as from an earlier Person: Nay, Mr. *Warburton* himself carries this Point no further, than

to say, " That it is *highly reasonable to suppose*, that this Name was given him." p. 220.

The Argument, which Sir *Isaac* uses to prove, that *Osiris* and *Sesostris* were not *distinct Persons*, is, That they *Both* reign'd over ALL *Egypt*, *Æthiopia* and *Libya*: Now *Sesostris* was the *One only*, and the *First* King that did so. Therefore *Osiris* was only a different *Name*, not a *distinct Person* from *Sesostris*. To tell us, that it was an *Egyptian Custom to call later Heroes after the Name of their earlier Gods*, is nothing to the Purpose. For if *Osiris* and *Sesostris* were *distinct Persons*, then *Two* reigned over all *Egypt*, and *Two* conquer'd *Æthiopia* and *Libya*; contrary to *Herodotus* and *Strabo's EXPRESS ASSERTIONS*.

Mr. *Warburton* had said, --- " *It is highly reasonable to suppose, that this Name was given him,*" viz. That the Name of *Osiris* was given to *Sesostris*, " tho' they were *really distinct Persons*." There are but three Lines that come in between this *Supposition*, expressly so called; and He goes on to assert the *Fact*, --- " When now they *HAD GIVEN* them the same Name, not distinguished

“ distinguished by the *First* and *Second*, Post-
 “ terity frequently confounded them with one
 “ another, and in this Confusion gave the
 “ Actions of *Osiris* to *Sesostris*, and of *Sesostris*
 “ to *Osiris*.” *ibid.* And again, “ I have
 “ shown, that a Sameness of Name was in
 “ Fact, the only Cause of that Conformity,
 “ and consequently that their Persons were
 “ distinct.” p. 225. Has he proved, that
Sesostris and *Osiris* were distinct Persons?
 No. It is but a *Supposition*; and then a
Fact is asserted, grounded still upon a *Sup-*
position; by which we are not advanced
 one Step. It is roundly indeed asserted,
 that “ *Posterity frequently confounded*” the
 two Men; whereas the Truth is, Posterity
 made Two Men out of One, Two great
 Conquerors of *Ethiopia*, *Asia*, &c. where
 there was but *One*; Two Kings of *all Egypt*,
 where there was but *One*; nor does the Sa-
 cred History of the Bible admit of any
 more than *One*.

It is said, That “ if what *Clemens Alex-*
 “ *andrinus* tells us be true, that *Sesostris*
 “ was sprung from *Osiris*, there was still a
 “ further Reason to give the later *Hero*
 “ the Name of his great Progenitor.” *ibid.*

Who now would not imagine, that *Clemens* tells us, that *Sesoftris* was sprung from *Osiris*? And yet *Clemens* only tells us, what one (n) *Athenodorus*, the Son of *Sandon*, had said, when he was endeavouring to give as great *Antiquity* as he could to *Sarapis*; and *Clemens* condemns him for his *Invention*. This *Athenodorus* had invented a Story, purely to serve his Purpose, that *Sesoftris* order'd his Progenitor *Osiris* to be curiously made; and thus derives *Sarapis*, as if it were a Word compounded of *Osiris* and *Apis*, quasi *Osirapis*, *Sarapis*. A Story invented for the Sake of the Derivation. And how many imaginary Persons, mere Inventions are in all Languages made, purely for the same Reason? From such a Story no Conclusion can be drawn, either that *Osiris* was a real Person, or that he was a Progenitor of *Sesoftris*.

The better then to make up his System, Mr. *Warburton* tells us, how this whole Affair was managed. “*Osiris*, because

(n) Αλλ' ὁ γε Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ τῷ Σάνδωνος, ἀρχαίῳ τὸν Σάραπιν βυλιδεῖς, ἐκ οὗδ' ὅπως πτερόπτεον ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν ἀγαλμα εἶναι γενήσθον. Clem. Alex. coh. ad Gentes. R. 43.
Σύνθετον δὲ τῷ Ὀσίειδός τε καὶ Ἀπίος, γινόμενον Ὀσίραπιν. ibid.

“ *Sesostris* was so, is made a great Conqueror, at a Time when *Egypt* was but just emerging from a State of Barbarity into civil Policy. --- But this seems to be one of the latest Corruptions in their History; *Herodotus* giving none of these Conquests to *Osiris*, but to *Sesostris* only; whence I collect it was the Product of some Age between him and *Diodorus Siculus*, who gives it [them] to *Osiris* with all its [their] Circumstances, and supported by the Evidence of Antient Monuments.”

p. 221. Does not Mr. *Warburton* grant then, that what *Herodotus* told of *Sesostris*, was by the active Priesthood of *Egypt* corrupted, and the same Conquests given to *Osiris* with all their Circumstances? For *Diodorus*, as Mr. *Warburton* owns, copied from their *Annals*, p. 211; And therefore He was not the Author of this Corruption. Nor is it likely to be a Grecian Addition, because the *Egyptians* themselves were famous for their “extravagant Chronology,” and themselves had invented a History of above 30,000 Years, and they were obliged to invent Names, as well as Things, to fill it up. It was not then, as Mr. *Warburton*

calls it, "*Mistake that gave Birth to this Corruption in the Egyptian History.*" p. 223. but it was a *National Vanity* that gave *Birth* to it, and the same Cause supported it. They could not invent *New Countries* to be conquered; nor could they contrive any Thing but what must be taken from the ordinary Occurrences of Life to enlarge upon. When therefore they imputed to *Osiris*, or *Siris*, or *Sirius*, or whatever was the *Egyptian* Heroes Name, certain great Actions, they took their Plan from *Sesostris's* real Actions, and thus made a Difference in *Time*, when there was none in *Person*; and this was the true Cause of the Confusion in the Accounts of *Isis* and *Osiris*. They could not form even in Imagination a more universal Empire than *Sesostris* had made himself Master of: Some therefore imputed to *Osiris*, who was to be a Hero, the Actions of the real *Sesostris*, and thus indulged their Vanity and Invention, by making Two Persons, with two Names, out of one: And upon this Scheme, the *Egyptian Chronology* may be reconciled to Truth. Whereas, if you make *Osiris* and *Sesostris* different Persons, and attribute to each the several Actions

Actions imputed to them by Historians, all is Contradiction and Confusion of Times and Places, and Circumstances.

But Mr. *Warburton* says, "that no one
" can in good Earnest believe, that *Egypt*
" was indeed emerging out of a State of
" Barbarity, at the Time in which Sir *Isaac*
" places *Sesoftris*." p. 226. Nor do I
know, that Sir *Isaac* supposes, or ever
thought of, any such Thing. He supposes
indeed, that *Egypt* was, and had been *mi-*
serably harrassed with Wars; conquer'd by
the *Shepherds*; the *Shepherds* again drove
out of a great Part of *Egypt* by One King,
and quite drove out by his Successor; then he
supposes *Ammon* to reign; and this takes
up one hundred Years. Then comes *Sesac*,
and he reigns to a great Age, and sets up
one of the greatest Empires that ever had
been. Here is nothing like *Egypt*'s "emerg-
" ing out of Barbarity," but emerging out
of a Scene of Subjection to Foreigners, and
acquiring a vast Extent of Dominion. When
therefore Mr. *Warburton* thinks it unlikely,
that *Sesoftris* could "divide the Lands of
" *Egypt* amongst the People, reserving an
" Annual Rent to the Crown;" and imagines

it improbable, "because we are certain this
 " was done long before him by the Patri-
 " arch *Joseph*;" —Why might it not have
 been done by *Sesostris*, as well as by *Joseph*,
 especially since *Egypt* had suffer'd such
 great Alterations and Changes betwixt *Jo-*
seph's and *Sesostris's* Time? But I shall have
 Occasion to consider this Matter again by
 and by.

From an Argument founded upon a
mere Supposition, Mr. Warburton says, "if
 " the Case required, we should not want
 " positive Arguments, supported by the
 " soundest Part of Antiquity, to prove their
 " Difference of Person," p. 227. which,
 since he has been so good as to oblige the
 World with, let us consider them.

His first is taken from the *Time*, when
Hero Worship was first instituted; and it is
 to shew, that *Osiris* was as antient "as the
 " sober Chronologists suppose." It stands
 thus, --- "Hero Worship was as early as
 " the first Institution of civil Policy; there-
 " fore the using the Name of *Osiris* to this
 " Purpose, is Demonstration, that he was
 " as early as the sober Chronologists suppose."
 p. 227.

He

He then adds, that “ *Hero Worship* was substituted, and came after *Planet Wor-*
“ *ship.*” Now let me add, but “ *Hero*
“ *Worship was as early as the first Institu-*
“ *tion of Civil Policy:* Therefore *Planet*
“ *Worship was before the first Institution of*
“ *civil Policy.*” This I suppose may be
denied with great Justice; nor can Mr.
Warburton prove, that *Hero Worship* was as
early as the first Institution of *civil Policy*;
nor that *Hero Worship* came after *Planet*
Worship.

But this will deserve a little further En-
quiry. It was conceived by *Epiphanius* and
others, that the Beginning of Idolatry was
in *Serug's* Time. What particular Evidence
they had for this, I know not; but it con-
sisted then in having only *pictured* or *calour-*
ed Objects: They had not arrived to *Images*
made of Wood, or Stone, Silver or Gold.
Epiphanius's Words are, speaking of *Serug's*
Time, (o) “ Then began Idolatry amongst
“ Men, as we have it by Tradition. For as yet

(a) Καὶ ἤρξατο εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡ εἰδωλολατεία, — ὡς ἡ
ἐλθούσα εἰς ἡμᾶς γνῶσις περιέχει. Οὐτὼ δὲ ἐν ξοάνοις,
καὶ ἐν τορμαῖς λίθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἀργυροτεύκτων, ἢ χρύσει, ἢ
ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς ὕλης πεποιημένων: μόνον δὲ δια χρωμά-
των καὶ εἰκόνων ἢ τῇ ἀνθρώπου διάνοια ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ ἠνεύρετο τὴν
βελτίαν. Epiph. Hæres. p. 7.

“ the

“ the Mind of Man had not discovered
 “ the Mischief of carved Images and graven
 “ or polished Stones, or Wood, or Silver
 “ or Gold, or any other Substance, but
 “ only of what was made by *Colours* or
 “ *painted Resemblances*.” Two Generations
 after in *Serug's* Grandson's Time, (b) Images
 of *Men* were made of *Clay* by the Potter's
 Art. *Tharra* was the Inventor of this. So
 that Painting, or Colouring of Things, was
 the Beginning of Idolatry; and in a little
 Time after the Potter made Images of Clay;
 and these were the first Images of Gods,
 that we read of.

Eusebius speaking of this very *Serug*, tho' he makes him, by some Mistake, of the Family of *Japhet*, observes, that he began the worship of many Gods (c) “ For He, and Those

(b) Ἐνταῦθεν γέγονεν ἀνδριαντοπλασία ἀπὸ πηλεργίας
 καὶ κεραμικῆς ἐπιστήμης διὰ τῆς τῷ Θάρρα τῷ τε τέχνης.
ibid. p. 8.

(c) Σερὺς, ὅστις πρῶτος ἤρξατο τῷ Ἑλληνισμῷ, καὶ τῷ
 δόγματι τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας. Αὐτὸς γὰρ, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ
 τὰς πόλεις γενόμενος ἢ πολεμιστὴς ἢ ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τὴν πρῶ-
 ταν ἀνδρείαν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀξίον ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ μνημονεύεσ-
 θαι, καὶ ὡς ὄντας αὐτῶν προπάτορας ἀνδρείας σὺλῶν ἐτί-
 μησαν, καὶ ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύνουν αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἰδυσίαζον. Οἱ
 δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τῶν προγόνων
 γνώμην, ὅτι ὡς προπάτορας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐνδείας ἐτίμησαν
 μνήμῃς μόναις, ὡς θεοὺς ἐπικρανίως ἐτίμων, καὶ εἰδυσίαζον
 αὐτοῖς. *Euseb. Chron.* l. i. p. 13.

“ who

“ who lived in his Time, honoured those that
 “ were before him, whether they were
 “ Warriors, or Governors, or did any
 “ Thing valiantly or bravely, worthy in
 “ Life to be remembered; and as being
 “ their Ancestors they honoured them with
 “ Statues and Pillars, and paid a Respect
 “ to them, as if they had been Gods, and
 “ sacrificed there. But the Men that came
 “ after, not knowing the Meaning of their
 “ Ancestors, that they honoured them only
 “ as their Ancestors, and as Inventors of
 “ Good Things, with only a Remembrance
 “ of them, they worshipped them as Ce-
 “ lestial Gods, and sacrificed to them.” He
 goes on to describe the Manner, and by
 what Steps this Deification was brought to
 Perfection: *Their Names were first ordered*
to be put into their sacred Books; then they
made Feasts at a certain Time in Memory of
them, and said their Souls were gone to the
Isles of the Happy, and were no more to be
judged or burnt with Fire: And that this
Custom continued down to the Time of Tharra,
the Father of Abraham.

There may be some Difficulty in ac-
 counting for, or reconciling these different
 Accounts

Accounts of antient Idolatry: *Epiphanius* asserting it to be originally *painting* only; *Eusebius* saying it was owing to *Pillars*. Perhaps *Epiphanius* only denied *Gravings*, and *Curiosities*, or *Niceties* of *Workmanship*, whilst the Other speaks of rough, unpolish'd *Pillars*. And thus *Petavius* accounts for the Difficulty.

Tharra was an Image-maker by Profession; and if *Syncellus* tells us Truth, (d) " *Abraham* burnt his Father's Idols; and " *Haran*, his Brother, going to put out the " Fire in the Night, was burnt himself." The Idols of his Father were such as he made and sold; and were the Images of Men made in Clay, and baked as Potters do. These were the Images which *Rachel* stole, the *Teraphim*, the Gods that were her Fathers, *Gen.* xxxi. 19, 30. And that these *Teraphim* were Images of Men, and not of Stars, seems clear from hence, that *Michal* made up a *Teraphim*, an Image to represent *David* in his Bed.

Epiphanius thinks, that it was (e) " long " after" this Idolatry of *Tharra*, that Men

(d) Ἐπειτίθειεν Ἀβραὰμ τὰ εἴδωλα τῷ Πατέρει αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνακαύσθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἄρραν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ πῦρ ἐν νυκτὶ. *Syncellus*, p. 99.

(e) Μετέπειτα πολλῶν τῷ Χριστῷ. *Epiph.* ib.

worshipped

worshipped *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, and *Ops* and *Juno*, &c. and no doubt so it was. As to *Planet Worship*, not a Word of it is so much as mentioned till a great while after this; never till after the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. So that why Mr. *Warburton* should so positively fix *Hero Worship* to be *after Planet Worship*, when this is no where mentioned till some hundred Years after that, I yet can see no Reason.

Mr. *Warburton*'s next Point is, that *Planet Worship* was *before* the first Institution of Civil Policy. This likewise is a Point that should be proved from certain *Fact*; but which Mr. *Warburton* has not attempted to do.

A third Point, which Mr. *Warburton* has attempted to shew is, that *Hero Worship* was posterior to *Planet Worship*: but by what means? By the Authority of Men, not one of which lived within so much as *thirteen hundred Years* after the times of Idolatry were begun. Nor is their Authority of any Sort of Weight, where we can go much nearer to the Fountain Head. But let us suppose all these Points proved, did *all Hero Worship*

Worship begin with *Civil Policy*? Did it do so in *Egypt*? If it did, then *Osiris* must have lived as early as the first Institution of *Civil Policy* in *Egypt*; i. e. before at least *Abraham's* Journeys into *Egypt*; for in his time there was a *Civil Policy* in that Country. Now which are the "*sober Chronologists*," whom we are to follow? Those, who regard the Annals of the Priests of *Egypt*, who extended backwards, or brought down their History as they pleased; or those who have rejected all their fabulous Accounts which run out beyond the beginning of the World? What if *Hero Worship* did begin with *Civil Policy*? Did it not continue after *Civil Policy* was begun? How then are we to fix *Osiris's* Age, since *Hero Worship* began before *Abraham's* time, and continued to the *Argonautic Expedition*, i. e. upon the common Schemes of Chronology unrectified, at least seven hundred Years? Was *Osiris* the first that was deified in *Egypt*? Might he not be one of the last? Or were not *Kulcan*, *Helius*, *Agathodæmon* and *Saturn* before him? And did not these reign 866 Years before *Osiris*, if you follow *Manetho*, the *Egyptian Priest's* Account? Or might
not

not he or his Son Orus be the last? Or might not the Humour of deifying Men continue there, to the times when Men and Women brought the Trade into *Europe*, and stock'd the Heavens with mortal Men? What sort of a *Demonstration* then is this that *Osiris* lived as early as he is usually placed by common Chronologers?

We have a *Second*, "a demonstrative Proof
 " of their [*Isis* and *Osiris*,] being the com-
 " mon Benefactors of all *Egypt*, in the In-
 " vention of Corn, Wine, and Civil Poli-
 " cy, as the *Egyptian Annals* deliver. Their
 " other Hero Gods, as particular and partial
 " Benefactors, being worshipped variously.
 " But this fixes them in their high Anti-
 " quity." p. 217, 18. These great lying
Egyptian Annals, should not be urged too
 far, especially when a demonstrative Proof of
 any fact in History depends upon them. It
 is true, that *Herodotus* tells us, that no Gods
 besides *Isis* and *Osiris* were worshipped by all
 the *Egyptians* in the same unvaried Manner.
 But nothing will hence follow, except that
 these Persons reigned over all *Egypt*. We
 now know that the Dynasties of *Egypt* were
 not successive, but contemporary: And that
 " all

“all Egypt had no common King before
 “the Expulsion of the Shepherds who reign-
 “ed in the lower Egypt,” as Sir Isaac ob-
 served. The Shepherds were reduced by
Misphragmuthosis, and quite expelled by
Amosis, who extended his Dominion over
 all Egypt. His Son extended his Con-
 quests; and his Grandson was the Con-
 queror of *Æthiopia*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, and
 all *Asia*. And he lived in an Age when
 Deification was the Fashion. He might
 therefore be worshipped by all Egypt in
 the same manner; how differently soever
 they paid their Worship to their particular
 Nomal Heroes: and in consequence, nei-
 ther difference of Person nor difference of
 Time, nor high Antiquity is at all affected
 by this “demonstrative Proof.”

But after all, what are these Egyptian
 Annals here appealed to for the high Anti-
 quity of *Osiris*? Where are they to be
 found? Are they not *Forgeries* made after
 that the Greeks were in Possession of Egypt?
 Were they not “the Product of some Age
 “between *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*,
 “and supported by the Evidence of pre-
 “tended antient Monuments?” Mr. War-

burton

Burton imagines the Story of *Osiris's* Expeditions, as told by *Diodorus*, to be such an Invention, p. 221. and whether the Story of his "high Antiquity" might not come out of the same Forge, or whether it were the Invention of that active and learned Priesthood before that time, I shall leave to further Enquiry.

When we are told that their being "common Benefactors of all *Egypt* in the Invention of Corn, &c. fixes them in their HIGH ANTIQUITY,"—Does *high Antiquity* imply the Age that *Manetho* places them in; *i. e.* before the *Flood*; reckoning his *Sixteen Dynasties* as short as you please? Or is it a time before *Joseph's* Days; when we know *Corn* was well known in *Egypt* and used? Or how is it proved to be so early as the Death of *Joshua*? For it has not yet been proved that the *Egyptians* had found out that the Year consisted of 365 Days, so early as that; and *Osiris* was *συγγενὴς ἡμέρας*, not born *before* the Day, but *with* the time in which they added the additional five Days to the Year.

Mr. *Warburton* produces a third Argument: "The Calf and Ox are own'd to be

F

"the

“ the peculiar Symbols of *Osiris*: but the
 “ Golden Calf I have proved to be an *E-*
 “ *gyptian* Symbol, therefore *Osiris* at least as
 “ old as *Moses*.” p. 228. That the Calf or
 Ox were *Egyptian* Symbols is true; and that
 the *Egyptians* worship'd some of their Kings
 or Benefactors under that Representation is
 certain: And that the Golden Calf might be
 made by *Aaron* from the Model of *Egypt* is
 most probable; and consequently that the
Egyptian Symbol of an Ox or Calf to repre-
 sent some deified Person was as old as *Moses*,
 is granted. The only Points that should
 have been proved were, that these Symbols
 were “ peculiar to *Osiris*,” and that *Osiris*
 lived as early as *Moses*. A reason is easily
 to be assigned why *Osiris* (supposing him and
Sesostris to be the same) was worshipped
 under that Symbol: but that it was “ pecu-
 “ liar to *Osiris*,” supposed to be a distinct
 Person from *Sesostris*, to be so worshipped;
 or that it did not denote some other Bene-
 factor different from and prior to *Osiris*, is
 the Point to be proved. *Vossius* (*f*) is strong-
 ly of Opinion, that *Joseph* was represented
 by the *Egyptians* under that Figure; and he

(*f*) *Vossius* de Idolol. Lib. 1. c. 29.

has with him several of the Antients that were in that Notion: and he shews by several Arguments, that a more proper Symbol could not have been invented for so great a Benefactor, so much honoured by the King: And he has very well observed, that even the *Romans* expressed their Sense of Kindness done them by the Distribution of *Corn* among them, by giving *L. Minucius* a *Golden Ox*. The Invention of the Symbol was certainly very antient; but that it was “peculiar to “*Osiris*,” and thence to draw an Argument of *Osiris*’s Age, and to make him as antient at least, as that Symbol, is too much to be taken for granted in this Place. The Ox seems at first to have been the Symbol of *Agriculture*; then of the Person, whoever he was that improved *Agriculture*; afterwards it was the Symbol of (g) *Sesostris* or *Osiris*, who taught his conquer’d Subjects, either *Agriculture*, or to plough with *Oxen*.

The fourth Reason is taken from a Concession made by *Sir Isaac*: --- “Our great “Author owns, that the King, who in- “vented *Agriculture* in *Egypt*, seems to

(g) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀιθιοπίαν διδάξαντα τὰς ἀνθρώπους τὰ πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 16.

" have been worshipped by his Subjects in
 " the Ox or Calf for his Benefaction. Now
 " the Ox or Calf was the Symbol of *Osiris*.
 " But Agriculture we certainly know was
 " invented before the Time of *Joseph*,
 " which will bring us to seek for *Osiris* 700
 " Years higher than *Sesac*, who is our Au-
 " thor's antient *Osiris* or *Sesostris*." *ibid.*

Here again Mr. *Warburton* takes for
 granted, that the Ox or Calf were so pecu-
 liarly the Symbols of *Osiris*, that they were
 never applied to any one besides. Does he
 not see, that Sir *Isaac*, in the Passage here
 quoted, guesses, that *the King, who by his*
Invention first peopled the lower Part of
Egypt, and reigned over it, perhaps the King
of Mefir, where Memphis was afterwards
built, seems to have been worshipped by his
Subjects after Death in the Ox or Calf for his
Benefaction? The lower Part of *Egypt* be-
 ing yearly overflowed by the *Nile*, was little
 useful to any Inhabitants, before it was
 made capable of bringing forth Corn; or
 maintaining its own People. The Seasons
 therefore were necessary to be observed;
 the Overflowings, and the Abatements of
 the *Nile*; the Opportunities of Sowing and
 Reaping;

Reaping; the proper Pasturage of Cattle,--- These, and such like Benefactions, of Him who discover'd these Things, occasioned the Worship of some King of *Lower Egypt* at first. His Name, as a proper Name, seemed not to have been *Osiris*, for none such was in Being; but an Ox, or Calf, שור was set up, as the Symbol of so good a Benefactor: And this Name long afterwards was appropriated to him who was the great Conqueror of the World, and who taught the conquer'd Nations, West and South, to plough with *Oxen*. Agriculture therefore might have been 700 Years in the World, or twice as much, before *Sesostris's* Age; and yet that will not prove, either that *Sesostris* might not be worshipped in an Ox; nor that Posterity might not appropriate that Symbol to Him, which had been before applied to others.

But let us see at what Time these Masters of their Trade have fixed their Dynasty of *Gods* and *Demigods*, and how long that lasted.

Manetho, the *Sebennyte*, has given us an Account of Sixteen Dynasties of *Egypt*;

but before any of these began, were the Dynasties of their Gods and Demigods.

Vulcan reigned — — 724 Years $\frac{1}{2}$, and 4 Days.

Helius, Son of *Vulcan*, 86 Years.

Agathodemon — — 56 Years $\frac{1}{2}$, and 10 Days.

Saturn — — — 40 Years and a half.

Osiris and *Ifis* — — 35 Years.

The Sixth is not named.

Typhon — — — 29

971 Years, 6 M. 14 Days.

Orus, a Demigod — 25 Years.

Mars, a Demigod — 23

Anubis, a Demigod — 17

Hercules, a Demigod — 15

Apollo, a Demigod — 25

Ammon, a Demigod — 30

Fitboes, a Demigod — 27

Sofus, a Demigod — 32

Jupiter, a Demigod — 20

214

All these, our Chronologers, (reckoning them, as they must be 4 or 5000 Years before the Flood) have justly placed to the Account of the *Fabulous* Chronology of *Egypt*.

Egypt. Nor has the Exactness of Months and Days, as well as Years, which the Gods reigned, made these Records of that *active* and *learned Priesthood* gain any Sort of Credit with the *judicious*. *Osiris* and *Isis* are here fixed to a Time, when it is on all Hands agreed they could not live. If therefore they are reckon'd in the Number of their Gods; and it is certain, that they did not live at the Time, where they placed them; and it is certain too, that they deified their deceased Kings and Benefactors;-- must we not look for them at a Time, when the Deification of Mortals was the Practice of a Country? And if we can find among their Kings, or great Men, any one, whose Actions are the same, or similar to His who is deified, may we not conclude, that the God and the Mortal were the same Person. And is it any Objection, that the Chronology does not agree, when upon all Schemes, either *Osiris* is a mere fictitious Person, or you must place him where his Actions will suit with the Nature of Things, and Circumstances of History, tho' it be a thousand, or 1500 Years later than the Priests of *Egypt* had placed him. And sup-

pose, that we are allowed to look for him *before Joseph's Days*; or suppose, as late as *Joshua's Days*; whatever will justify our looking so low, will justify our descending much lower, even as late as *Solomon's* or *Rehoboam's Days*; if the Circumstances of History and Times will then agree to him.

It is certain, that *Osiris* did not live at the Time where the *Egyptians* placed him: And the Names of the Gods that reigned before him, *Helias* and *Agathodæmon*, are *Greek Names*, which in those early Days were not, could not, be given to *Egyptian Gods*. If ever therefore, by examining History, we can find a Mortal that certainly did the Actions imputed to the God, we must bring such God from his High Antiquity; especially since we know the Practice of the *Egyptian Priests*, who were wont to extend their History *backwards* to such an *unreasonable Length of Time*. *Osiris* is perhaps no more than a corrupt, ill pronounced, *Egyptian Word*; and not the *proper Name* of any one. Whether it was derived from שור, an Ox, because *Sesostris* taught his conquer'd People to plough with Oxen; or whether it is an *Æthiopian Word*,
and

and given to the Conqueror from his coming from *Egypt* up the *River Nile* to invade them (for *they* called the *Nile* (a) *Siris*) or whether it comes from any other Words, I think we can hardly say with any Certainty. But if the *Egyptians* deified a Hero of theirs, under the Title of *Osiris*, a Name by which he was called, either by his Neighbours the *Æthiopians*, or from his Benefaction to his Acquists, by teaching them Agriculture,— this was a good Contrivance to conceal the Mortal under a Name, which he obtained as a God ; and the only Difficulty is to find out the Hero, who was deified under such a Name. Now when so many Circumstances agree to *Sesostris*, which Sir *Isaac* has, with a peculiar Sagacity, laid together, one cannot much doubt, but *Osiris* was the Name of the God, whom Mortals call'd *Sesostris*.

But let us suppose with Mr. *Warburton*, that We are to look for *Osiris* before *Joseph's* Days, shall we not then throw more Confusion upon all that is tolerably clear, than

(a) Ἐνθεν πιστάτοις κατέρχεται ὕδατα Νείλου
Ὅς δὴ τοὶ Λιβύηθεν ἐπ' ἀντολίην πολὺς ἔρται
Σείς ὑπ' Αἰθίοπων κικλήσκειται.

Dionys. Perieg. v. 221.

we had before. It was but in p. 189, that Mr. Warburton agrees, that the Fable of the Birth of the Five Gods, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typho*, *Orus*, and *Nephthe*, "could not be invented before the *Egyptians* had found out " that the Year consisted of 365 Days;" and this He supposes to be "a little after " the Death of *Joshua*." The learned Mr. *Stuckford* had argued from that Fable, that these Gods were not deified before they knew that the Year had these five Days added to it. But Mr. Warburton denies this Consequence, and pretends, that the five Gods were deified before this Addition to the Year, and says, the Fable was made to commemorate the Insertion of the five Days. But that which shews, that *Osiris* was not prior to the Addition of these *ἑπταήμεραι*, or Addition of the five Days, is, (if any Credit is to be given to the Pillars said to be found at *Nysa* in *Arabia*) that in them, He is said to be, *συγγενὴς ἡμετέροις*, born at the very Time when these Days were found necessary to compleat the Year; and consequently long after *Joseph's* Death; nay, and after *Moses's* Death too.

No

No Time then being at all agreed on, wherein *Osiris* lived, the Point is to enquire, who was the Man, to whom the *Egyptians* gave that Name? Who is it, and when did he live, who was so much talked of in *Egypt*? Mr. *Warburton* has made a Digression to "discover the general Cause of all the mistaken Identities of Persons, by tracing down the Religion of *Greece* from its Original." p. 229. But this answers not the Point. There was some One Person in *Egypt*, called *Bacchus* or *Dionysus*; and the same Person was called *Osiris*, by the Consent, as Sir *Isaac* observes of all *Antiquity*. This is affirmed "by the *Egyptians*, as well as by the *Greeks*, and some of the Antient Mythologists, as *Eumolpus* and *Orpheus*, called *Osiris* by the Name of *Dionysus*." p. 193. How a Discourse, which traces down the Origin of the Religion of *Greece*, can help us in this Affair, I own I do not see. Had the Question been,---whence the *Greeks* derived their *Bacchus*, or *Dionysus*, then it would have been proper to have shewn, from whence the tutelary Gods, or the Names of the tutelary Gods of *Greece*, came. But here the Debate is, Who was the

the Person called in *Egypt* *Osiris*, or *Dionysus*, and when he lived? Sir *Isaac* thinks him from many Circumstances, all concurring, that *Sesostris* was the Person intended. And to prove this, he shews, that That *Bacchus* (whoever he was) or *Osiris*, was famous for doing the very Things which made *Sesostris* famous: “ *Bacchus*, or *Osiris*,
 “ was contemporary with *Sesostris*, and both
 “ were Kings of *Egypt*, potent at Sea,
 “ great Conquerors, and carried on their
 “ Conquests into *India* and *Thrace*; there-
 “ fore they must be one and the same
 “ Man.” Let the *Greeks* then derive their *Bacchus* from *Egypt*, or *India*; or let them fetch the Name from whom you please, Mr. *Warburton* owns, that *Bacchus* “ was
 “ but Two Generations earlier than the
 “ *Trojan War*,” and as he did all the Actions of his Contemporary, and was King of the same Country, they must be one, and the same Man.

The next Attack upon Sir *Isaac* is; That whereas “ he [Sir *Isaac*] considers the *Genealogies* of their Gods and Heroes, and
 “ finds them to co-incide with the Time
 “ of *Sesostris*;”---This he thinks to be “ a
 “ Confirmation,

" Confirmation, and further Evidence of
 " the Truth of his Opinion." D. L. p. 244.
 And is it not remarkable, that there should
 be such a *Co-incidence*? Is it not very sur-
 prising, that at a Time, when so many Fables
 were invented and contrived to confound all
 Truth and Knowledge; when there was so
 much Confusion and Contradiction, not on-
 ly of Places, but of Times and Persons;
 when such a Darkness as might be felt,
 appeared on the Face of Antiquity; yet
 That great Genius found out a Clue that
 guided him thro' that Labyrinth, and made
 him able to shew others, who were willing
 to travel, how they might with Pleasure
 and Profit go thro' that unknown Land.

What is it now to the Purpose to enquire
 into the Causes of all this Confusion? Be
 the *Sources* of it, all that Mr. *Warburton*
 has labour'd to shew; and let *Antiquity*,
 as he expresses it, "*sink and founder itself*
 "*in the treacherous Soil of Mythology*,"
 p. 250, Yet if any Co-incidence of Facts,
 unobserved by any Body before Sir *Isaac*,
 will help us out of this Mire, and give us
 Footing upon a sure Bottom, the greater
 Honour

Honour is due to him who made the Discovery.

But it seems, "the greatest Part of Sir Isaac's Reasoning from these *Genealogies* is on an Error of *his own*. Sir Isaac, who supposed,---that the Gods and Goddesses left of getting and bearing Children when they *died*, concludes from the Mythologic Account of their *Offspring*, that *they* must needs have *lived* but two or three Generations before the War of *Troy*.--- It being notorious, that every Age of the *Pagan* World swarmed with the Progeny of their Gods, Sir Isaac's Conclusion from the Time of their Sons and Grandsons to *their own* is altogether fallacious." p. 250, 251.

To prove this to have been the Case, we have this Affair traced up to the "Original," and all the Causes assigned of Pretences to Offspring from the Gods produced. The first Cause was the Contrivance of Wives to hide their Adulteries, and of Virgins to excuse their Incontinence. A Second was the Ambition of this pretended Offspring themselves, in order to support their Authority amongst their barbarous Followers.

lowers. A Third was the Flattery of Sycophants. The Last is, that it was a mere Figure of Speech in the Eastern Phraseology. Allowing now this to be all true: Does Mr. *Warburton* infer, that the Persons worshipped by the *Pagan* World were not real Persons, infamous for their perpetual Intrigues? Because some Wives or Virgins might contrive Excuses for their Incontinence, did not *Jupiter* of *Crete*, or *Bacchus*, or any such *quondam* Men or Heroes, indulge themselves in Amours? And if they did, may you not with Probability argue from the Time of Sons or Grandsons, to the Time of Fathers or Grandfathers? Sir *Isaac* finds, when he considers the Genealogies of the Gods and Heroes of the Antients, that they coincide with the Time of *Sesostris*, --- This is one Circumstance: He finds all the Actions reported of a God *Bacchus*, to agree exactly with *Sesostris*, --- This is another Fact: He finds, that the Offspring of *Bacchus*, his Sons, were *Argonauts*, --- This is a third Fact. Now the *Argonautic* Expedition, being one Generation later than *Sesostris*, this is certainly a good co-incident Circumstance, which helps
to

to fix the Age of *Sesostris* or *Bacchus*. If indeed the Plea of being the Son of a God were to stand single, and no other Circumstances concurred to fix a *Chronological* Point but that one, perhaps some or other of the Reasons here assigned by Mr. *Warburton* might be sufficient to destroy all Dependence upon an Argument deduced from the Age of the Son, to the Age of the Hero, said to beget him: As it might justly be urged, that you could not fix the Age of *Mars* from the fix'd Age of *Romulus*. But yet, when Circumstances *co-incide*; when the Age of the Father, and his Circumstances agree very well, and tally with the Age of the Son; when Times agree with the respective Ages of the Offspring, and of the God or Goddess; and when you have nothing besides that prevents or excludes Assent, there it may be very safe to infer the Time of the Father, from the Time of the Son. It is very well known, that *Romulus* was born of *Rhea Sylvia* by a Father unknown: There are several Ways of saying or understanding, that he was begot by *Mars*; and consequently it does not follow, that *Mars* the God was the certain Father

Father of *Romulus*, or was but one Generation prior to *Romulus*. But supposing, that you are not led by any other Circumstances, to conclude a Child not to be the Son of any God or Goddess, but to be really descended from such a Person who has been deified; such Offspring, and a Chronology fixt upon such Principle, is not to be rejected, because Tricks have been play'd, and Contrivances used, to conceal Incontinence? A Son of *Apollo* may be no more than a Poet, or a Musician; as a Son of *Mars* may be no more than a Hero in martial Atchievements: A Son of *Venus* may be no more than one begot in a Commerce secret on any Girl. But when *Aeneas* is declared to be the Son of *Venus* by *Anchises*, and *Venus* appears to have been the Mistress or Wife of *Cinyras*, a Person who lived in those Times, no Reason can be given, why *Venus* Herself should not be thought to have been the real, proper Mother of *Aeneas*. How odd would it have been for the old Apologists to have used this Argument against the Pagans, if they had not conceived the Pagan Gods really to have had some Children? And

U

how

how easily might the *Pagans* in their Turns have answered this Argument, by urging the figurative Sense of such Expressions, as the Son of *Venus*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, &c. ? But both *Heathens* and *Christians* understood this Affair in a true, literal Sense; and then it is as easy, in such Case, to argue from Sons or Grandsons to the Times their Sires lived in, as it is in any other Case to argue from Father to Son or Grandson, and thence to compute the Distance of their Ages.

I know not how it is with you, or with others, but as soon as I have read over all that Mr. *Warburton* has said against Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology, and I look into Sir *Isaac* a second Time, imagining, that I had laid hold of something that would guard me against any Fallacies, I know not what is the Matter, but all Assent is gone, and I am just in the Condition I was before I began to read. Mr. *Warburton* charges his Adversary indeed with false Facts, mistaken Conclusions, Confusion, Contradiction to the History and Astronomy of the Bible, to the Nature of Things, and to himself. But these are meer Words which leave no Manner of Impression;

Impression; but vanish as soon as I begin to look into Sir *Isaac's* Book. I see in That none of the Contradictions to *History*, none to great Probability; and as to any Contradiction to the *Astronomy* of the Bible, even Mr. *Warburton* has not once attempted to shew it, tho' it stands as an Accusation against Sir *Isaac* in the Beginning of this Chapter.

But I shall proceed next to consider the Consequences with which Mr. *Warburton* charges our great Author. These are divided into what He would not venture to admit, and those which he would. Now both these,---directly CONTRADICT Scripture, and the Nature of Things. So that, as we before proved, the Error of his Conclusion from the Falshood of his Premisses, we now begin at the other End, and shall prove the Falshood of his Premisses from the Error of his Conclusion. p. 255.

First then, Mr. *Warburton* considers some Consequences, which Sir *Isaac*, "for their
" apparent Falshood, was obliged to pass
" over in Silence." Now if they are "appq-
" rently false," one would not be much surprized, that Sir *Isaac* passed them over

in Silence. But what are these? Why, it seems, "those very Histories, on which
 " Sir *Isaac* builds his Identity, tell us, that
 " *Osiris* invented the Culture of the Vine;
 " and abolished the Custom his Savage Sub-
 " jects had of *eating one another*: That his
 " Wife and Sister *Isis* taught them to *sow*
 " *Corn*, and gave them their first System of
 " *Laws*: That they were both the Patrons
 " of *Nascent Arts*; and that all the In-
 " struments of Husbandry were found out
 " in their Time." Suppose now, that
 those very Histories, which tell us Things
 which are "apparently false," tell us other
 Things which are apparently *true*, -- do
 they not stand upon the Foot that other
 Histories, all Histories, do? Suppose one
 were to appeal to *Herodotus* for the Truth of
 any Fact; would it be a Confutation of
 that, to cite any Mistake of *Herodotus* about
 it; and then to say, that That very Histo-
 ry tells us a false, idle, groundless Story,
 which tells us what is cited from him as
 Truth? Historians tell us inconsistent Things
 about *Osiris*, or any other Person. Is the
 Consequence this, that nothing is at all to be
 believed about him? Or may not a Distinc-
 tion

tion be made betwixt what is apparently true, and apparently false?

The very Historians, on which Sir *Isaac* builds his Identity of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, tell us the *Inventions* of *Osiris*. Very true. "But if *Osiris* were Sir *Isaac*'s *Sesostris*, all these fine Discoveries were made but two Generations before the *Trojan* War, and full 500 Years after the *Exodus*, and then, --- What are we to think of the Bible?" The Question is not, What are we to think of the Bible, but what are we to think of those "authentic Annals of that active and learned Priesthood," copied by *Diodorus*? Are we obliged to believe *Diodorus*, or any one in Things "apparently false?" But Sir *Isaac* is obliged "either to receive the Consequences he has rejected, or to reject those he has received; or lastly, to shew, that they stand upon different Authority." p. 257. All this goes upon this Supposition, that Sir *Isaac* had no other Authority for what he had said about *Sesostris* and *Osiris*, but only one *Diodorus*. How many other Authors are cited for the Facts of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, besides *Diodorus*? And the Point is to reconcile these

several, discordant Stories. *Herodotus* tells us of the Conquests of *Sesostris*: *Diodorus* tells of the same Conquests of *Osiris*. *Strabo* too tells us of the Conquests of *Sesostris*. Where now is the Inconsistency of rejecting some Things said by *Diodorus*, which are "apparently false," at the same time, that one admits other Things, which are agreeable to what the Bible and other Historians relate? The Conquests made by *Osiris* are certainly the very same Conquests which *Sesostris* made; and as they were but *once* made, *Osiris* and *Sesostris* must be the same Person. Thus far then *Diodorus* may be trusted in his Account of *Osiris*; because other Historians give the same Account of the Conquests, only using a different Name. But then if *Diodorus* adds what *cannot* be true, I do not see, that any one is obliged to admit that, tho' he does admit other Things that *may* be true.

But Sir *Isaac* had the Misfortune to admit that Part of the *Sicilian's* Account, which had the very least Foundation. "If one
 " Part of the *Sicilian's* Account be of *better*
 " Authority than the other, it is that which
 " says, *Isis* invented *Agriculture*. For *be*
 " expressly

"*expressly tells us*, that this was found
 "written on a large Column in *Hierogly-*
 "*phic Characters*, half consumed with Age,
 "then standing in the City of *Nysa* in
 "*Arabia*." p. 257.

You must not imagine from this positive
 Assertion of Mr. Warburton, that *Diodorus*
 ever *saw* this Column, or *read* the Inscrip-
 tion, or "*expressly tells us*" any such Thing.
 He tells us only what others *reported*, either
 to be written on the Pillar, or to be impos-
 sible to be read, through Length of Time.
 And as he "*expressly tells*" the Story in this
 Manner; it is certain, First, That he never
saw, nor pretends to have seen, the Pillar
 itself. Secondly, Supposing such a Pillar
 to be standing at *Nysa* in *Arabia* some time
 or other, this will prove *Osiris* not to have
 lived before some *Egyptian* King had con-
 quer'd *Arabia*. And which of the *Egyp-*
tian Kings did this before the Times of *Se-*
sostris, I leave you to find out. Thirdly,
 Mr. Warburton tells us, that these Pillars
 were written "in *Hieroglyphic Characters*."
 I suppose he did this, because the Pillars
 should appear of very great Antiquity. But
 his Author does not say in *Hieroglyphic*
 U 4 *Characters*,

Characters, but *ἐν ἱερίῳ γράμματι*, in *Sacred Letters*, that is in an *Alphabetic Character*. Now this Sort of Writing was not in *Osiris's* Times in *Egypt*, if you place *Osiris* so early as Mr. *Warburton* would place him. Lastly, As to *Osiris* himself, he is said to be *ὡνυστεῖς ἡμέρας*, born at the same time with THE DAY: That is, he was contemporary with the Introduction of the *five Days*, which were found necessary to complete the Solar Year, on one of which *Osiris* was brought forth by *Rhea*; which shews him not so early as *Joseph*, no, nor so early as *Joshua*; and I think it was as late as *Solomon's* Days.

But what after all is the *Sicilian's* Account that is of such *Authority*? Why, it stands thus, “ *I am not ignorant, that some*
 “ *Writers tell us, that the Sepulchres of these*
 “ *Gods [Isis and Osiris] are in Nyssa in*
 “ *Arabia, from which Place Dionysus is*
 “ *called Nyssaus.* And that there is a Pillar
 “ *erected to each of these Gods, on which,*
 “ *in Sacred Characters, is written, &c.*”
 Then he gives us the Inscriptions, which,
ἡτοι δὲναδαι ἀναγνώσκειν, they SAY can be read.
 Does He give into this Notion of these
 Writers?

Writers? Does he credit the Story of these Pillars? Does he approve, or say a Word in Approbation of them? What then is the *Sicilian's* Account? Or what is it that is of so much *better Authority* in this Place, for *Isis's* Invention of *Agriculture*, than for any other Piece of History, which *Diodorus* relates?

Well, but what is *reported* to be said upon this Pillar concerning *Isis*? “ (a) *I am Queen of ALL the Country. I am Wife and Sister of King Osiris. I am the first that found out Fruit for Men.*” When it is affirmed of *Isis*, that she was *Queen of all the Country*, it must be at a Time when *Egypt* at least, probably *Egypt* and *Arabia* too, was *all* under one Government: And in Course not before the several Kings of *Coptos*, *Thebes*, *This*, *Elephantis*, and other Places, were reduced under one Government. She therefore did not live before the *Shepherds* were drove out of *Egypt*; and they reigned according to *Josephus* upwards of five hundred Years. I think he

(a) Ἐγὼ Ἰσις εἰμι ἡ βασιλίσσα πάσης γῆρας.—Ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πρώτην καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐνέψα. Diocl. p. 16.

has

has much encreased the Number of Years, that the Shepherds reigned over the lower *Egypt*: However that is not the Point now in Hand. *Isis*, I say, could not be Queen of *all Egypt*, till some time after *Misphragmuthosis's* Days; nor could she set up a Pillar in *Arabia*, before *Arabia* was conquer'd by *Egypt*; which again could not be before *Sesostris's* Days; and then *Letters* were known, and all is consistent thus far. But what are we to say to those Words.— *I am the first that found out Fruit for Men?* Not certainly, that she was the *first* that found out *Corn*: For that was long enough known before Her Days. Nor that She invented *Agriculture*: for that likewise was known and practised before She was Queen of *all Egypt*. This therefore was “apparently false” of her, and consequently to be rejected: When therefore *Diodorus* says, that *She found out Wheat and Barley, which grew as other Herbs did about the Country, but was unknown or undistinguished before her Time, and that Osiris contrived the Method of working and managing these Fruits.* — This, I say, must be owing to some Mistake, perhaps to some double Meaning of a Word,

or

or to a Similitude of Words, or some such Cause, which led them to impute the Invention of *Corn-Fruit* to her, instead of the Thing which she really discovered. Perhaps I could make a probable Conjecture, what her Discovery was, consistent with her *Time*; and with what She had a Right to glory in. (b) But as it is but Conjecture, I shall say no more than this, — that it is “apparently false,” that *Isis* invented *Agriculture*, let *Diodorus*, or any one else, relate such a Story; and therefore it is to be rejected; and that She lived as late as *Sesostris*’s Days, appears from these Pillars, if they are of any Authority; and therefore thus much might be used by Sir *Isaac*, as a proper Evidence, because agreeable and consistent.

The next things considered by Mr. *Warburton* are, “the Consequences which Sir

(b) *Isis* is said to have found out *Fruit* for Men. *Fruit* is פֶּרִי. *Phere*; and in the Plural, פֶּרִין. *Pherin*. Suppose now that *Isis*, by sending down any Shipping along the *Red Sea*, and then sailing Eastward, had discovered that Country, which is called in Scripture, in the *Phœnician* Dialect, פֶּרִין, i. e. the Island *Taprobane*, famous for the finest Gold, and Ivory, and Peacocks, &c. — The Word is the same, or so near the same, that the Mistake is very easy.

“ *Isaac*

“ *Isaac* has thought fit to *espouse*, some of
 “ which are these, that Instruments of
 “ War, Horses for Military Service, Ani-
 “ mal Food; the exact Distribution of Pro-
 “ perty, Alphabetical Letters, and the well
 “ peopling of *Egypt*, were all the Product
 “ of the Age of *Sesostris*.” p. 257-58.

And has Sir *Isaac* really admitted, or *espoused* these Consequences? You will be justly surpris'd, if I tell you, that Sir *Isaac* never has espoused several of them; nor is there a Word in Sir *Isaac* about them. *e. gr.*

The very *first* Consequence here mentioned, That Sir *Isaac* *espouses*, is, that *Instruments of War* were the Product of the Age of *Sesostris*. Does Sir *Isaac* espouse this? No. Mr. *Warburton* himself interprets these *Instruments of War*, not *Swords*, not *Spears*, but “ *Armour*,” which is very different from what those comprehensive Words, --- “ *Instruments of War*,” may mean. And supposing “ *Instruments of War*” means “ *Armour*,” has Sir *Isaac* any where said, that “ *Armour*” was the *Product* of the Age of *Sesostris*? No, He expressly speaks of *Armour* as *invented* long before *Sesostris*'s time, nay before his Father *Ammon*'s time:
 and

and he is not wont to be guilty of Contradiction. But let us examine the Grounds of this Imputation.

“ *Vulcan*, says Sir *Isaac*, reigned in *Cyprus*
 “ and *Byblus* till a very great Age, living to
 “ the times of the *Trojan War* — and after
 “ the Death of his Wife *Cahycopis*, he built
 “ Temples to her at *Paphos*, and *Amathus*
 “ in *Cyprus*, and at *Byblus* in *Syria*, and in-
 “ stituted Priests to her with sacred Rites
 “ and lustful *Orgia*, whence she became the
 “ *Dea Cypria* and the *Dea Syria*. --- *Cinyras*
 “ deified also his Son *Gingris* by the Name
 “ of *Adonis* --and for assisting the *Egyptians*
 “ with *Armour*, it is probable that he him-
 “ self was deified by his Friends the *Egyptians*,
 “ by the Name of *Baal Canaan* or
 “ *Vulcan*: For *Vulcan* was celebrated prin-
 “ cipally by the *Egyptians*, and was a King
 “ according to *Homer*, and reigned in *Lem-*
 “ *nos*: and *Cinyras* was an Inventor of
 “ ARTS, and found out Copper in *Lemnos*,
 “ and the Smith’s Hammer and Anvil and
 “ Tongs and Leaver, and employed Work-
 “ men in making *Armour* and other things
 “ of Brass and Iron, and was the only
 “ King celebrated in History for working
 “ in

“ *Isaac* has thought fit to *espouse*, some of
 “ which are these, that Instruments of
 “ War, Horses for Military Service, Ani-
 “ mal Food; the exact Distribution of Pro-
 “ perty, Alphabetical Letters, and the well
 “ peopling of *Egypt*, were all the Product
 “ of the Age of *Sesostris*.” p. 257-58.

And has Sir *Isaac* really admitted, or *espoused* these Consequences? You will be justly surpris'd, if I tell you, that Sir *Isaac* never has espoused several of them; nor is there a Word in Sir *Isaac* about them. *e. gr.*

The very *first* Consequence here mentioned, That Sir *Isaac* *espouses*, is, that *Instruments of War* were the Product of the Age of *Sesostris*. Does Sir *Isaac* espouse this? No. Mr. *Warburton* himself interprets these *Instruments of War*, not *Swords*, not *Spears*, but “ *Armour*,” which is very different from what those comprehensive Words, --- “ *Instruments of War*,” may mean. And supposing “ *Instruments of War*” means “ *Armour*,” has Sir *Isaac* any where said, that “ *Armour*” was the *Product* of the Age of *Sesostris*? No, He expressly speaks of *Armour* as *invented* long before *Sesostris*'s time, nay before his Father *Ammon*'s time:
 and

and he is not wont to be guilty of Contradiction. But let us examine the Grounds of this Imputation.

“ *Vulcan*, says Sir *Isaac*, reigned in *Cyprus*
 “ and *Byblus* till a very great Age, living to
 “ the times of the *Trojan War* — and after
 “ the Death of his Wife *Cahycopis*, he built
 “ Temples to her at *Paphos*, and *Amathus*
 “ in *Cyprus*, and at *Byblus* in *Syria*, and in-
 “ stituted Priests to her with sacred Rites
 “ and lustful *Orgia*, whence she became the
 “ *Dea Cypria* and the *Dea Syria*. --- *Cinyras*
 “ deified also his Son *Gingris* by the Name
 “ of *Adonis* -- and for assisting the *Egyptians*
 “ with *Armour*, it is probable that he him-
 “ self was deified by his Friends the *Egyp-*
 “ *tians*, by the Name of *Baal Canaan* or
 “ *Vulcan*: For *Vulcan* was celebrated prin-
 “ cipally by the *Egyptians*, and was a King
 “ according to *Homer*, and reigned in *Lem-*
 “ *nos*: and *Cinyras* was an Inventor of
 “ ARTS, and found out Copper in *Lemnos*,
 “ and the Smith’s Hammer and Anvil and
 “ Tongs and Leaver, and employed Work-
 “ men in making *Armour* and other things
 “ of Brass and Iron, and was the only
 “ King celebrated in History for working
 “ in

“ in Metals, and was King of *Lemnos*, and
 “ the Husband of *Venus*: All which are
 “ the Characters of *Vulcan*: and the *Egyptians*
 “ about the time of the Death of *Cinyras*, viz. in the Reign of their King
 “ *Amenophis*, built a very sumptuous Temple
 “ at *Memphis* to *Vulcan*, and near it a smaller
 “ Temple to *Venus Hospita* --- *Vulcan's*
 “ Wife.” *Newton's Chronol.* p. 224-25.

Mr. *Warburton's* Remark on these Words is, — “ Here we have a Hero living till
 “ the time of the TROJAN War, not only
 “ the Inventor of ARMS, but likewise of
 “ the very Tools employed in making them.”
 p. 258. Will not the most careless Reader
 ask, from what Words of Sir *Isaac* could
 Mr. *Warburton* draw this Consequence, that
Vulcan was the INVENTOR OF ARMS? He
 is said indeed to be the Inventor of ARTS,
 which I could fancy Mr. *Warburton* read
 ARMS, and confirmed himself in his Mistake
 by seeing it said, that he assisted the
Egyptians with ARMOUR.

That (b) *Cinyras* found out the Smith's
 Hammer, Tongs, Leaver and Anvil, in *Cyprus*,

(b) *Cinyra* invenit — metalla aris — in Insula *Cypro*:
 item forcipem, marculum, Vestroam . *Plin.* vii. c. 56.

Pliny

Pliny tells us: But *Pliny* does not say that *Arms* could not be made without these Tools. It is a groundless Remark of Mr. *Warburton*, that *Cinyras* found out the very Tools employed in making them; insinuating as if *Arms* could never have been made without the Tools invented by *Cinyras*; whereas *Arms* and *Armour* too were invented, as is agreed by all, before *Cinyras's* Days; nor is there one Word in Sir *Isaac* to the contrary.

Mr. *Warburton* goes on to observe, that
 “ *Homer* seems indeed to make *Vulcan* the
 “ *Inventor* of *Arms*, but at the same time
 “ makes both him and his *Invention*, the
 “ Product of a much earlier Age. By his
 “ Poem of the *Trojan War*, it appears that
 “ *Military Weapons* had been then long in
 “ use.” p. 259. And then he very truly
 infers, “ that if *Military Weapons* at the time
 “ of the *Trojan War* had been in long use
 “ amongst the *Greeks*, it is impossible they
 “ should have been but just invented in
 “ *Egypt*.” p. 260.

But who is here opposed? Has Sir *Isaac* ever said, that *Military Weapons*, or *Arms*, or *Armour*, were but just invented either in *Egypt*, or any where else? Sir *Isaac* has indeed

deed said, that "*it is probable that Cinyras or Vulcan was deified by his Friends the Egyptians for assisting them with Armour;*" an excellent useful Defence against *Arms*, or *Military Weapons*; but *when* either *Arms*, or *Armour* were *invented*, is not so much as remotely hinted at in this Passage about *Vulcan*.

However, let me observe, that *Eusebius* has this Remark, as it is in *Cedrenus*, that *Vulcan* was deified by the *Egyptians* --- as *Plato* says, for shewing them the Art of making *Warlike* and *Husbandry Tools of Iron*; for before him they fought with *Stones* and *Clubs*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁ Πλάτων, πολεμικῶν καὶ γεωργικῶν ἐργαλείων τὴν ἐκ σιδήρεος κατασκευὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπεδείξατο, λίθοις γὰρ καὶ ῥοπαλοῖς ἐπολέμουν πρὶ αὐτοῦ. Not that he *invented ARMS*: but "*he shewed them how to make certain Instruments of Iron,*" as *Plato* observed.

I cannot but take Notice, that in *Homer* their *Military Weapons* were made of no other Metal than *Copper*, though *Iron* was the Metal that best would resist such Weapons. *Ulysses's* Spear was Ἀίχμη χαλκείη, a *Copper-headed Spear*. And when with that he had slain *Democoon*, *Apollo* cries out
to

to the Trojans, to come on against the Greeks,

— Ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί λίθῳ χεῖρας, ἔδδ' σιδῆρεσσι

Χαλκὸν ἀναχέειν ταμσιχρόα. Iliad. β. 509, 510.

because their Bodies were not made of Stone or Iron, to be able to resist Copper. They had indeed found out the Art of heading Clubs with Iron, and Areithous was called the Club-Fighter,

Οὐκ' ἄρ' ἐτόξοισι μαχέσκειτο, δυνεῖ τε μακρῷ,

Ἄλλὰ σιδῆρεσσι κορυὴν ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας. II. η. 140.

because he did not fight with Arrows, or a long Spear, but broke whole Troops with an Iron headed Club. Iron was then so valuable a Commodity, that it was reckon'd among the Treasures or Riches that a Man had. Accordingly Adrastus reckons it as such, II. ζ'. And Achilles threatens to carry it away with his Gold and Copper from Troy to Phthia: Iliad. ι. 366. And afterwards when he was proposing and giving Prizes to the chief Heroes at Patroclus's Funeral, one of them was no more than a great heavy Coit of Iron. Now if Vulcan had been the Maker of Arms or Military Weapons of Iron, it was certainly a great Improvement, and for which he might have been much esteemed by the Men of War, both for Offence, and Defence.

X

However,

However, I must own that I do not find that *Vulcan* made his *Armour* of *Iron*. To make *Achilles's* *Armour* *Vulcan* put into the Fire Copper and Tin, Gold and Silver.

Χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον ἀτρίψα, κασιτέροντε

Καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῶντα, καὶ ἀργυρον. Il. Σ. 474, 475.

His *Sword* was made of *Copper*, χαλκον. the Gold and Silver were for *Ornaments*. And though *Virgil* had made *Iron* a part of the Metals used in furnishing out *Æneas* to Battle, yet it was only for his *Sword*.

Vulnificusque Chalybs vasta fornace liquefcit.

The rest were of *Copper* finely polished, and bright.

But as Sir *Isaac* has not said that *Vulcan* was the *Inventor* of *ARMS*, so I do not remember that in *Homer* he is made the *Inventor* of them. He was famous for making excellent *Armour*, such as *Bucklers*, *Helmets*, *Breast-Plates*, *Securities* for the *Legs*; things which he made for *Achilles* at the Request of *Thetis*.

ἀσπίδα καὶ τρυφάλειαν

(n) Καὶ καλὰς κνημίδας, ἐπισφυρίους ἀεγρυίας,

Καὶ θώρηκ' Il. Σ. v. 458.

(n) The *Κνημίδες* were made of Metal.

Æneas's were, *læves ocreas, electo auroque recocto.* Æn. viii.

Achilles's, τεύχε δὲ οἱ κνημίδας ἰανῷ κασιγέροιο. Il. Σ. 612.

Hercules were, *Κνημίδας ὀρειχάλκοιο φαινῷ.* Hesiod. Scut. Herc. v. 122.

These *Vulcan* gave to *Hercules* the *Argonautic*, as he did his *Shield*. *Ἡραίου κλυτὰ δῶρα.* ibid.

And

And the *Breast-plate* that *Agamemnon* wore was one that *Cinyras* gave him.

Θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσιν ἔδυνε
τὸν πόλ' ἐοίκε Κινυρὴς δῶκε ξενήϊον εἶναι.
Πεῦθε' οὖρ δὲ Κύπρον δὲ μέγα κλέος, ἕνεκ' Ἀχαιοῖ
ἔς Τροίην νήεσιν ἀναπλέυσσασθαι ἔμελλον.
Τῶνεκα οἱ τὸν δῶκε χαρίζομεν βασιλῆϊ. Ili. λ. 19—23.

Instruments therefore of *War*, of all kinds were *invented*; Arms and Armour too, before *Vulcan's* Days. But I suppose the excellency of his Workmanship was such, for Strength as well as Ornament and Use, as might occasion his Deification.

Or if he found out in his latter Days, the Art of working *Iron* well, and of making *Armour* of that Metal, and taught the *Egyptians* to make their *Tools for War and Husbandry* of that Metal in particular, he might be deified on that Account.

Diodorus Siculus tells us (c), that *Jupiter* was the first that found out *Suits of Armour*, and that he armed his Soldiers with them: and that he granted the Honour of this Invention to *Mars*; at the same time

(c) Πρῶτον καὶ εὗρεν ἀσπίδα πανοπλίαν, καὶ ἱστέρησεν καὶ δοπλίσαι. Diod. Sic. Edit. Hanov. p. 341. Scuta gestare Curetes primi invenerunt. Servius in Virg. Æn. ix. v. 505.

that *Vulcan* had the Honour of the Invention of every thing worked by *Fire*, either in Iron, Copper, Gold or Silver. But whoever really was the *Inventor*, *Vulcan* was the Person famous in his time for making *Armour* only, not "*Instruments of War*" in general: and this Sir *Isaac* may and does "espouse," but not that *Instruments of War* were the PRODUCT of *Sesostri's* Age.

It may not be improper to take Notice, that *Ἡφαίστος*, the Name by which *Vulcan* is called, is derived from *ἦν*. *Ignis*, and signifies one that works at the *Fire*: as *Vesta*, *isīa*, comes from the same Original, though it alludes to another Reason. But this by the by.

To prove that Sir *Isaac* meant that *Vulcan* was the INVENTOR of *Arms*, Mr. *Warburton* says, "That this was our Author's meaning is plain, from what he tells us of the *Egyptians* fighting with *Clubs* in the time of *Sesostri*, which certainly was for want of better *Arms*; and still plainer from what he tells of *Vulcan's* being made a God, which certainly was for a new Invention." p. 258.

Sir

Sir Isaac says, that “ *Sesostris* invaded *Libya*, and fought the *Africans* with *Clubs*, and thence is painted with a *Club* in his Hands; so *Hyginus*, *Afri et Ægyptii primum fustibus dimicaverunt.*” Sir Isaac might have added to this the Authority of *Pliny*, who says, *Prælium Afri contra Ægyptios primi fecere fustibus quos vocant (a) Palangas.* l. vii. c. 56. Was this done before the time when *Sesostris* in his Father’s Reign invaded *Libya*? Or when was it that the *Africans* and *Egyptians* first fought with *Clubs*? Did the *Egyptians* invade *Africa* before the time here mentioned? If they did not, you have the Testimony of *Pliny* as well as *Hyginus* to the Fact. But this, says Mr. *Warburton*, “ was certainly for want of better *Arms.*” What if Copper, and Iron too, was found out and worked in *Crete*, and *Lemnos*, and in other Places? Does it follow, that it was carried thence into *Africa*? Or was it carried in such Plenty, that all sorts of *Military Weapons* were made of them? You have a remarkable Instance in Scripture of a Nation, but little before

(a) The Word from whence the Latin Term *Phalanga* or *Palanga* is derived is :פָּלַח. *Phalac* which signifies a Club or Stick.

the times we are now speaking of, I mean of the *Jews*, going out against the *Philistines* to Battle, *when there was no Sword or Spear found in the Hand of any of the People that were with Saul and Jonathan, but with Saul and with Jonathan there was found*, 1 Sam. xiii. 22. What now was it that these People were armed with, but *Clubs* and such like *Military Weapons*? As late as *Alexander's* Days, you find a considerable part of the *Derbices* in *Darius's* Army, armed no better than with *Stakes burnt*, and by that means *hardned*. *Quidam*, says *Curtius*, *lignum igni duraverant*. And when *Charidemus* the *Athenian* was giving his Judgment about the Forces of *Alexander*, and describing their Hardiness --- *I suppose*, says he, Ironically, *the Thessalian Horse, and the Acarnanians, and Ætolians*, a Body unconquered in War, will be repelled with your Slings, and *Stakes hardned by Fire*. *Jam Thessali Equites et Arcananes, Ætolique, invicta bello manus, fundis credo et hastis igne duratis repellentur*. Curt. l. iii. c. 2. It does not follow from hence, that Weapons of *Iron* or *Copper* were not found out, or in use, long before these times: Nor does it follow that *Arms*, and
Military

Military Weapons made of *Copper*, were not before *Vulcan's Days*, who excelled in making *Armour*. In the Army of *Xerxes*, I cannot but observe, that the *Libyans* had not their Military Weapons armed with Iron, or any other Metal; but they used *Darts* or *Javelins* burnt and hardened in the Fire, ἀκονίοισι ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι. *Herod.* l. vii. c. 71. Not I suppose for want of better Arms, for all other Nations that composed that immense Army had their Weapons made of Iron, or at least headed with Iron, or sharp Stone: But the *Libyans* were used to this Sort of Weapons, and best could use them against their Enemies.

Nor does it follow that the *Africans* fought the *Egyptians* with Clubs, “for want” as Mr. *Warburton* says, “of better Arms,” but because they were used to fight with Clubs. For *Strabo* mentions a Nation of *Æthiopians* called *Megabari*, who used Clubs headed with Iron, and likewise used Spears and Shields too. *Strab.* l. 16. p. 1122. or 776. And when *Æneas* came to *Italy* and was engaging with *Turnus*, we find *Cisseus* and *Gyas* in *Virgil* routing whole Troops with Clubs—*Sternentes agmina Clava*,

*Dejecit leto. Nihil illos Hercules arma,
Nil valide juvare manus—*&c. *Æneis*. l. 10. v. 319.

So that much after the Days of *Sesostris*, it was not unusual for Nations to fight with *Clubs*. *Sesostris* therefore might be painted with a *Club* in his Hand, for his conquering the *Africans* that fought the *Egyptians* with *Clubs*; or perhaps the *Egyptians* might fight with *Clubs* as well as the *Africans*; and thence the Conqueror was so painted. It is certain that *Hyginus* and *Pliny* testify the Fact: and the time agrees to *Sesostris*, whatever was the reason of the Fact, which at this Distance of time we can know nothing of, but what Historians or others tell us. But be it what it will, Sir *Isaac* does not “*espouse*” this Consequence, that “*Instruments of War* were the PRODUCT of the “*Age of Sesostris*.”

The second Consequence, which Mr. *Warburton* tells us, that Sir *Isaac* espouses, is, “*That He makes Sesostris's Conquest of Libya the Occasion of furnishing Egypt with Horses.*” p. 261. By this Mr. *Warburton* means, not that *Sesostris's* Conquest of *Libya* was a particular, *occasional* Circumstance, that furnished *Egypt* with *Horses* at that time, but it was the *first Occasion* of *Egypt's* *abounding*

abounding with Horfe. THIS is what he charges Sir *Isaac* with espouſing; and he grounds his Charge upon theſe Words.—

“ After the Conqueſt of *Libya*, by which
 “ *Egypt* was furniſhed with Horſes, and
 “ furniſhed *Solomon* and his Friends, he
 “ prepared a Fleet.” Could any Man miſtake theſe *Words*, except one that was deſirous or reſolved to find Fault? Sir *Isaac* ſays, that *Libya* ſupplied *Egypt* with Horſes, and enabled the King of *Egypt* to ſell ſo many to *Solomon* and his Friends. Inſtead of this obvious, natural Meaning of his Words, Mr. *Warburton* tells us, That Sir *Isaac* was “ ſpeaking here of the *Original* of
 “ thoſe civil Advantages, for which antient
 “ *Egypt* was ſo much celebrated.” Sir *Isaac* was ſpeaking, *Here? Where?* Not in this Page, nor near it. He is *here* ſpeaking of the *Times* of *Sefoſtris*, of the *Conqueſts* of *Sefoſtris*, and of nothing elſe. But becauſe Sir *Isaac* had in *other Places*, upon *other Occaſions*, or in Mr. *Warburton*’s own Words, “ BEFORE and AFTERWARDS told
 “ us his Thoughts of their [the *Egyptian*]
 “ *Aſtronomy*, *Navigation*, *Letters*, *Names*
 “ and *Weapons* of War, We cannot

“ THEREFORE

" THEREFORE avoid understanding what
 " he HERE says of the *Libyan* Horses, to
 " mean, that the Conquest of that Country
 " was the *first Occasion* of *Egypt's* abound-
 " ing with Horses." p. 262. *i. e.* Because
 ✓ Sir *Isaac* has BEFORE and AFTERWARDS told
 us his Thoughts of the Origin of several
 Things in *Egypt*: THEREFORE HERE he
 has told us his Thoughts of the Origin of
 the *Abundance of Horses*. But why " can-
 " not He avoid understanding" a Passage, in
 a Sense, which He says *contradicts the*
Scripture, when Sir *Isaac* is in Fact speak-
 ing of a particular Circumstance of Time,
 which enabled the *Egyptians* in a remarka-
 ble Manner to supply their Neighbours with
 a particular Commodity?

Sir *Isaac Newton* was perhaps one of the
 most accurate and exact Writers that ever
 was; clear, expressive, and so careful in
 the Choice of his Words, that scarce can
 you alter a Term, without hurting his
 Meaning. He is speaking of a *particular*
Time, when *Egypt* was enabled to supply
Solomon and his Friends with a great Num-
 ber of Horses. Mr. *Warburton* understands
 this to mean, that, in Sir *Isaac's* Intention,
 " This

“ This was the FIRST *Occasion* of *Egypt*’s
 “ abounding in Horfe.” He is fo juft as
 to own, that in *another* Place, and when
 Sir *Isaac* was fpeaking on *another* Subject,
 and not of the Empire of *Egypt*, He confeffes,
 “ that *Egypt* abounded with Horfes
 “ *earlier* than the Time he here affigns.”
 Why then does Mr. *Warburton* here declare,
 that he “ cannot avoid underftanding” Sir
Isaac, in a Senfe contrary to his avowed
 and exprefs Words in another Place, at the
 Expence of a Self-Contradiction in a Man
 fo accurate as Sir *Isaac* was? Efppecially too,
 when he faw, that fuch a Meaning was a
 direct Contradiction to *Scripture*? But had
 Mr. *Warburton* not put fuch a Meaning
 upon thefe Words of Sir *Isaac*, as is con-
 trary to his own exprefs Words, and to the
 Scriptures too, he could not have pretend-
 ed that Sir *Isaac* espoufed the Confequence,
 which here he charges him with.

At what Time *Egypt* began to abound
 with Horfes, Sir *Isaac* no where fays. He
 obferves indeed, that “ in the Days of *Saul*
 “ the *Philiftines* brought into the Field
 “ againft him *thirty thoufand Chariots*, and
 “ *fix thoufand Horfe*; and that the *Canaanites*
 “ had

“*bad their Horses from Egypt.*” This was
 several Years before the Times of *Sesostris*,
 and consequently it was not owing to the
 Conquest of *Libya*, that *Egypt* at that Time
 abounded with Horses. *Egypt* was greatly
 now improved, and much abounded in
 Horse, and was in a very different Con-
 dition from what it was at the *Exodus* of
 the Children of *Israel*. For “*in the Days*
 “*of Moses all the Chariots of Egypt, with*
 “*which Pharaoh pursued Israel, were but*
 “*six hundred.*” This was Sir *Isaac*’s Way
 of Reasoning, in his Chronology, p. 167.
 allowing *Egypt* very much to abound in
 Horse, and to have supplied the *Canaanites*
 with them long before the Conquest of *Libya*.
 But this Notion of *Egypt*’s having but
six hundred Chariots at the Time of the
Israelites going out from thence, does not
 favour the Opulence, Strength and high
 Antiquity of that Empire, which Mr. *War-*
burton contends for; and therefore he thus
 opposes it. “The Pursuit of the *Israelites*
 “is thus described. *And Pharoah made*
 “*ready his Chariot, and took his People*
 “*with him. And he took Six Hundred*
 “*chosen Chariots, and all the Chariots of*
 “*Egypt,*

“ Egypt, and Captains over every one of
 “ them.—The Egyptians pursued after them,
 “ all the Horses and Chariots of Pharaoh,
 “ and his Horsemen, and his Army. --- And
 “ the Egyptians pursued, and went in after
 “ them to the midst of the Sea, even all
 “ Pharaoh’s Horses, his Chariots, and his
 “ Horsemen. Exod. xiv. 6-23. Sir Isaac
 “ seemed to be aware of this Evidence
 “ against him, and endeavours to turn it
 “ on the Side of his Hypothesis. In the
 “ Days of Moses, says he, ALL the Chariots
 “ of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued
 “ Israel, were but Six Hundred.” p. 262.
 Upon this Mr. Warburton cries out,---
 “ This is a strange Mistake. The Six
 “ Hundred, mentioned in the Place quoted,
 “ are expressly said to be the *chosen Chariots*,
 “ that is, the King’s Guard, or a standing
 “ Militia; for that over and above these,
 “ all the Chariots of Egypt, an indefinite
 “ Number, went on the Pursuit.” *ibid.* I
 must observe,

1. That Sir Isaac makes the Remark,
 that the Chariots of Egypt were but Six
 Hundred in the Days of Moses; He makes,
 I say,

I say, this Remark, when he was speaking of the great Numbers of Horses which the *Philistines* had, probably from *Egypt*, in the Days of *Saul*. Fifty Pages afterwards he mentions *Sesostris*, and his Conquest of *Libya*, and there observes, that *That* gave Occasion to furnish *Solomon* with Horses; Mr. *Warburton* says, that in Consequence of this last Observation Sir *Isaac* espouses, that the Conquest of *Libya* was "the FIRST
 " *Occasion* of *Egypt*'s abounding with Horses." A Thought! which never seems to have enter'd into Sir *Isaac*'s Head or Heart! Mr. *Warburton* then upon citing the Passage of Scripture about *Pharaoh*'s Pursuit of the *Israelites*, says, "Sir *Isaac*
 " seems to have been aware of *this Evidence against him.*" *Evidence against him*, in what? Why, that the Conquest of *Libya* furnished *Egypt* with Horses, by which Means *Egypt* furnished *Solomon*. What *Evidence against him* is this Affair of *Pharaoh*? For admitting *Egypt* to breed Horses in ever so great a Plenty, the Addition of *Libyan* Horses might be the Occasion of selling more, than otherwise they could or would have done.

2. " Sir *Isaac* seems to have been aware
 " of this *Evidence* against him, and en-
 " deavours to turn it on the Side of his
 " *Hypothesis*." Mr. *Warburton* supposes Sir
Isaac to have an " *Hypothesis*," that the
 Conquest of *Libya* was the first Occasion of
Egypt's abounding with Horse. Whereas,
 neither in the Place here refer'd to, which
 is *Chronol.* p. 167. where Sir *Isaac* is speak-
 ing of the *Shepherds* being drove out of the
 greatest Part of their Dominions in *Egypt*
 by *Misphragmuthesis*; nor in the other
 Place, where He is speaking of *Sesostri's*
 Conquest of *Libya*, has Sir *Isaac* one Word,
 or one Hint at the FIRST Occasion of *Egypt*'s
 abounding with Horses.

3. Sir *Isaac*, when he occasionally men-
 tions the Six Hundred Chariots of *Egypt*, is
 speaking of the vast Quantity of Chariots
 and Horsemen, which the *Philistines* brought
 into the Field against *Saul*. *There were*
thirty thousand Chariots, and six thousand
Horse, and People, as the Sand which is on
the Sea Shore for Multitude. 1 Sam. xiii. 5.
 Whence came this vast Body of Men, Hor-
 ses, and Chariots? This, Sir *Isaac* with his
 usual Sagacity and Modesty accounts for
 thus.

thus. " I seem to gather from the great
 " Army of the *Philistines* against *Saul*, and
 " the great Number of their Horses; that
 " the *Shepherds* had newly relinquished
 " *Egypt*, and join'd them." *Newt. Chro.*
p. 167. This Solution seems natural, and
 is one Instance of ten thousand of that great
 Man's Sagacious Spirit. But what has Sir
Isaac's Hypothesis, which relates wholly,
 whatever it is, to the Solution of this Phæ-
 nomenon of such an *immense Army* at *that*
Time and *Place*.---What I say has this Hy-
 pothesis to do with the FIRST *Occasion* of
Egypt's abounding with Horses?

But be Sir *Isaac's Hypothesis* what you
 please: He says (no Matter on what Occa-
 sion) that *in the Days of Moses all the Cha-
 riots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued*
Israel, were but Six Hundred. Mr. *War-*
burton lays hold of this, and cries out,
Strange Mistake! How so? "*The six hun-*
 " *dred mentioned in the Place quoted are*
 " *expressly said to be chosen Chariots, that*
 " *is, the King's Guard, or a standing Mi-*
 " *litia:* FOR that over and above these,
 " *ALL the Chariots of Egypt, an indefi-*
 " *nite Number, went on the Pursuit.*"

That

That Sir *Isaac* affirms, that the Pursuit was made with *but Six Hundred Chariots*, is true. And that this was the whole of their Strength is pretty clear; for if you take the Words in any other Construction than that which Sir *Isaac* took them in, it will hardly be possible to make common Sense of the Passage. *He took six hundred chosen Chariots, and all the Chariots of Egypt.* Are not the *Six Hundred Chariots* contained in that comprehensive Word, *ALL the Chariots of Egypt*? You know, Sir, that the *Hebrew Vau*, and so is the *Greek Kai*, commonly translated *Even*; and then the Words are easy.---He took Six Hundred Chariots, *Even* all the Chariots of *Egypt*. This makes good Sense, and admits of nothing harsh, or uncouth, or improbable. But to talk of *Six Hundred Chariots*, and *All the Chariots of Egypt*, "an indefinite Number," is at best, either very odd Language, or inconsistent with the History. For if *all the Chariots of Egypt*, signifies, All of the *Egyptians*, All that any *Egyptian* had, besides those of *Pharaoh*, where was the Time to get these together? Or if *Pharaoh* pursued with such an Army, as *Josephus* says he did,

Y would

would three or four Days be sufficient to get together such an immense Force, as 700 Chariots, 50,000 Horse, and 200,000 Foot? No Wonder therefore that Sir *Isaac* interpreted the Words, as they may very properly, and indeed ought to be interpreted.

You will tell me perhaps, that the "Six
" Hundred Chariots are expressly said to
" be *chosen* Chariots, that is, the *King's*
" *Guard*." This seems to me a New
Discovery. The Kings of *Egypt* had many
Horsemen, and many Foot; and *Egypt*
once was famous for its numerous *Armies*,
and for its *Chariots* that marched out of
Thebes. But that these were the *King's*
Guard, or used as such, I own I remem-
ber no such Custom. In Truth, by *chosen*
Chariots, he means no more than, stout,
good, fit for the Purpose, fit for Service;
and has no Relation to such as were emi-
nently *picked out* from an indefinite Number,
but contained *all* that were fit to be em-
ployed.

Should you now ask me, how it could
happen, that the King of *Egypt* could get
all the Chariots of Egypt together, at so
small

small a Warning, to pursue the *Israelites*? I must answer, that supposing the Soldiery were, in those early Days, all placed together in the *Lower Egypt*, and lived at a public Expence in a particular Spot of Land; such a small Number might be drawn together at small Notice, tho' a mighty Army could not. And if the Customs of later Times, which *Herodotus* describes, were the same as their very antient Customs were, (a) a Thousand CALASIRII, and as many HERMOTIBII; annually guarded the King: And these were (b) Sword-bearers, μαχαροφόροι. But Chariots were never the King's Guard.

The second Consequence then, which Mr. Warburton tells us, that Sir Isaac espouses, is imaginary and groundless, and so far from being admitted or espoused by him; that he says not a Word about it.

The Third Consequence said to be espoused by Sir Isaac, is founded upon much the same Basis, upon mere Imagination: Only Mr. Warburton expresses himself with

(a) Καλασιέων χίλιοι, καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἄλλοι ἑδουράριον ἀνταυτὸν ἔχασον τὴν βασιλείαν. Herod. l. 2. c. 168.

(b) V. Herod. l. 9. c. 31.

somewhat more Caution. His Words are,
 --- "In Consequence of the same System,
 " our great Author SEEMS to think, that
 " *Animal Food* was not in Use among the
 " *Egyptians* till *about this Time.*" p. 270.
 He means till about *Sesostris's* Time.

What now has Sir *Isaac* really said, that
 may lead Mr. *Warburton* to draw such a
Consequence? Sir *Isaac's* Words are these,---
 " The *Egyptians* originally lived on the
 " Fruits of the Earth, and fared hardly,
 " and abstained from ANIMALS, and
 " THEREFORE abominated Shepherds: *Me-*
 " *nes* [the third from *Sesostris*] taught them
 " to adorn their Beds and Tables with rich
 " Furniture and Carpets, and brought in
 " among them a sumptuous, delicious, and
 " voluptuous Way of Life; and about
 " a hundred Years after his Death, *Gne-*
 " *phactus*, one of his Successors, cursed him
 " for it, and to reduce the Luxury of *Egypt*,
 " caused the Curse to be enter'd in the
 " Temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes.*" Chron.
 p. 241-2.

It is certain, that Sir *Isaac* never says di-
 rectly or indirectly, how long this *Original*
 hard Way of living lasted; nor does he say,
 that

that *Animal Food* began about *Sesostri's* Time : But his Design was to relate a Circumstance of the Introduction of *Luxury*, which consisted in *rich Furniture*, and a *sumptuous, delicious and voluptuous Way of Life*. A natural Consequence of an extended Empire raised by *Sesostri*, and of great Power and Riches then flowing into *Egypt*.

But let us suppose, that *Sir Isaac* did espouse this Consequence (which in Truth he has said nothing about) *Mr. Warburton's* Attempt to confute him is very far from being satisfactory. He attempts to prove, that the *Egyptians* were *Flesh Eaters*, before the Days of *Joseph*. The Reason assigned by *Sir Isaac*, why the *Egyptians* abstained from *Animal Food* was, that *Shepherds* were an *Abomination* to them, because they eat it. How long this *Abomination* lasted is nowhere said. If it continued till the Days of *Misphragmuthosis*, who made a long War on the *Shepherds*, and cleared the Land of *Egypt* of most of them, and shut up the rest in *Abaris*, or *Pelusium* ; or if it continued some Years longer, till they were totally expelled by *Tethmosis* : Then the *Egyptians*

did not eat Flesh till the Days of *Saul* or *David*. Not that Flesh was not eat in *Egypt* till these Times; for the *Shepherds*, who had conquered the *Lower Egypt*, and reigned over it for many Years, eat *Animal Food*; tho' the *original, natural Egyptians* did not. The *Shepherds* reigned over the *Lower Egypt*, if *Manetho* in *Josephus* be right, *five hundred and eleven Years*. But this Period is certainly much too long: For when he reckons up their Kings, and the Years of their Reigns, they scarce make up (c) 260 Years. *Saltis* reigned 19 Years, *Bæon* 44. *Apachnas* 36 Years and seven Months. *Apochis* 61. *Janias* 50 Years and one Month. *Affis* 49 Years, and two Months. And if you suppose the *Shepherds* to have reigned five hundred and eleven Years, as *Manetho's* Numbers are, and to have been expelled by *Thumosis* or *Tetbmosis*, as Sir *Isaac* has fixed it, 1070 Years before *Christ*, add 511 Years to that, and the

(c) <i>Saltis</i>	19 Years.
<i>Bæon</i>	44
<i>Apachnas</i>	36 Years, and seven Months.
<i>Apochis</i>	61
<i>Janias</i>	50 Years, and one Month.
<i>Affis</i>	49 Years, and two Months,
	259 Years, and ten Months.

Shepherds

Shepherds came into *Egypt* some time about the Birth of *Moses*. Now this could not be, because the *Israelites* were then in Possession of the Land of *Goshen*, and no mention is made of any Conquests or Disturbances in those Parts before the *Exodus*; and yet the *Shepherds*, when they invaded *Egypt*, built and fortified *Abaris*, and must have passed through *Goshen*, in order to conquer *Egypt*. Nor were the *Shepherds* Lords of *Egypt* in *Joseph's* Time, as appears from the *Abomination*, which the *Egyptians* had to eat Bread with the *Hebrews*. *Gen.* xliii. 32. They must therefore conquer *Egypt* long after this; and therefore *Manetho's* Numbers must be corrected, so as to suit with Truth. The Kings, which he names, reigned 260 Years. Add to these about 150 Years, for the Time which is to be divided amongst those whom *Josephus* calls τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν γαμομένης, the *Descendants of the Pastor Kings*, and for the long War, πολυχεινιον, upon the *Shepherds*, during *Misphragmuthosis's* Reign, and *Amosis's*, and we shall fix the Conquest of *Egypt* after *Moses* had brought the Children of *Israel* from thence, when *Egypt* was depopulated, its

Armies lost, and itself incapable of making Resistance. If the *Shepherds* were the *Canaanites*, and *Arabian Shepherds* flying from *Joshua*, there will not be above 100 Years, or little more, to be so divided.

It may perhaps be imagined, that the Aversion, which the genuine *Egyptians* had to the *Shepherds*, arose from the Invasion and Conquest, which the *Shepherds* had made over all the Lower *Egypt*. And since we find the Aversion so early as *Joseph's* Days, it may seem probable, that the *Shepherds* had overrun *Egypt* before those Days; and so Chronologers usually fix this Period of antient Times. But

If this were true, then it is plain, that this Period of the *Shepherds* reign in *Egypt* was over before the Time of the *Exodus* of the Children of *Israel*: For That *Pharaoh*, who reigned in *Moses's* Time, was certainly a genuine *Egyptian*; as appears from *Moses's* telling him, that they were to sacrifice the Abomination of the *Egyptians* to the Lord. Had this *Pharaoh* been a *Shepherd*, *Moses* could not have made this Speech, because the Religion of the *Egyptians* was so contrary to that of the *Shepherds*, that when they

they invaded *Egypt*, we find, they destroyed their Temples, even to the Foundations; τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν κατέσκαψαν. *Josephus*, l. i. c. *Apion*. To sacrifice therefore the Abomination of the *Egyptians* would have been no Difficulty, or Objection to *Pharaoh*, or any Reason why they should not carry away their Cattle with them, had *Pharaoh* been a *Shepherd King*.

Let us then go back to the Time of *Joseph*, and we find, that when he entertained his Brethren, That King likewise could not be a *Shepherd*. The Attendants on *Joseph* were *Egyptians*; and the Speech he put into his Brethrens Mouths was,--- that thy Servants Trade hath been about Cattle from our Youth, even until now,---and then it is added, --- For every Shepherd is an Abomination to the *Egyptians*. Gen. xlv. 34. Some Time before this, when his Brethren came down to *Egypt*, and he entertained them, the *Egyptians eat by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat Bread with the Hebrews, for that is an Abomination unto the Egyptians*. c. xliii. 32. At this Time therefore the genuine *Egyptians* were in Power, and *Pharaoh* was an *Egyptian*,

tian, not a *Shepherd*. The Dynasty therefore of the *Egyptians* was either not yet begun; or else it was quite over, and the *genuine Egyptians* got into Power again by the Expulsion of the *Shepherds*.

The first Remark from these Considerations is, that *Josephus*, and all those who follow him in the Notion, that the *Israelites* were the *Pastors* that reigned in *Egypt*, are quite mistaken. The *Israelites* that enter'd *Egypt* were *Friends*; the *Shepherds* came to conquer it: The *Israelites* never attempted to reign; the *Shepherds* had several Kings: The one came down thither *few in Number*, the other in immense Bodies.

2. If you make the Descent of the *Shepherds* to be *before* the Days of *Joseph*, and their Reign over *Egypt* to have lasted any Term of Years; suppose 500, as *Manetho* says, or thereabouts, and that the *Pastors* were expelled *Egypt* by *Amosis*, at or about the Time when the *Argive Æra* began in *Inachus*, this will bring the Reign of the *Pastors* in *Egypt* within twenty Years of the Flood. Archbishop *Usher* fixes *Tethmosis* to the Year of the World 2179, deduct from hence 511 Years that the *Shepherds* reign'd
in

in *Egypt*, and you come within eleven Years of the Flood: And was *Egypt* thus early inhabited? and had built *Temples* so soon? and was so soon conquered by the *Shepherds*?

3. The State of the World, and of Kings in these early Days, makes it impossible that the *Shepherds* should invade *Egypt* at any time before the *Exodus* of the Children of *Israel* from thence. Genuine *Egyptians* all reigned in *Egypt* till that time, as I have observed; nor could such an Invasion have happened before those Days consistent with the Scriptures, because we have such sure Marks to direct us.

Besides, the first King of these *Shepherds* *Salatis*, built *Abaris*, and fortified it with Walls, and put a Garrison of 240,000 Men in it; a Force too great for those times, when all the Kings of all those Parts, as far as appears, were no more than Governors of single Towns, and capable of raising but small Force. This is evident from there being *five Kings* on no more Territory than what is contained in the *Salt Sea*, i. e. about *Seventy Miles* in length and *Twenty* in breadth. And *Abraham* beat the four Kings which

which had conquered those five Kings with an Army of no more than 318 Men.

The Aversion then to the Shepherds did not arise from the *Invasion* and *Conquests* made by the *Shepherds* over the *Egyptians*: Nor does it seem to have arisen from the difference of *Religion* in those early times. *Abraham* was civilly treated by the King of *Egypt* in his time: and though abounding in Cattle does not seem to have been misused, or contemned or reproached on that account. We know nothing of the Religion of *Egypt* or of the Neighbour Nations in those times; but only that *Abraham* and the Patriarchs offered Sacrifices, and made Leagues with People, and eat Flesh together as Friends.

Now the genuine Original *Egyptians* were not *Flesh eaters*. And the Evidence for this is --- every *Shepherd* is an Abomination to the *Egyptians*. *Gen.* xvi. 34. This Aversion still continued in *Moses's* Days: for he tells *Pharoah*, (who was no *Shepherd*, as appears from *Moses's* Speech, and consequently the *Shepherds* were not then in Possession of *Egypt*) that they could not sacrifice to God in *Egypt*, for we shall sacrifice the Abomination of the *Egyptians* to the Lord our God.

Lo!

Lo! shall we sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians before their Eyes, and will they not stone us? Exod. viii. 26. They were to sacrifice to God Lambs and Bullocks, and Goats, and they usually eat of the Sacrifices which they offer'd. Had the meaning of *Moses* been, that we shall sacrifice *Cows* which are consecrated to *Isis*, and which the *Egyptians* did not sacrifice; or *Sheep* which are not sacrificed in some Provinces,--- he would not have called these the *Abomination* of the *Egyptians*, but the reverse, what they deemed so *holy*, as that they were not to be sacrificed. If the meaning be this, --- that which the *Egyptians* abhor to see killed,--- This is a Language that is not to be matched, to call that an *Abomination*, which is so esteem'd as to make Men abominate those who hurt it. Whereas the natural and plain Sense is, that we are to sacrifice and to eat that which the *Egyptians* abhor; we are to sacrifice to God Flesh, and to eat of that Flesh; a thing which the *Egyptians* abominate. If you say that the *Abomination of the Egyptians*, is the same as the *Abomination of the Nations*, i. e. not what the *Egyptians* abominated, more than what the Nations abominated,

abominated, but what each of them practised and liked, though *abominated* by God, --- this Construction will not do in the present Case. For God *approved* what was offered to him, both as to the matter and manner; which was not the case where the Scriptures speak of the Abominations of the *Gentiles*.

That the *Egyptians* were sustained at first by Roots and Herbs, is expressly told us by *Diodorus*: (a) that afterwards they eat Fish, and Flesh too, is said by the same Writer: But how long they continued in their *hard original* way of Life, does not appear. When the *Shepherds* conquered *Egypt* they might introduce the Custom of eating Animal Food. And if the Original *Egyptians* learnt from them, it is very consistent with all that Sir *Isaac* has said: Or if they continued their Aversion till the Expulsion of them, nothing is produced by Mr. *Warburton* to refute it. *e. gr.*

He first tells us, that "from the Dream of *Pharaoh's* Baker compared with *Jo-*

(a) Βίη τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰγυπτίουσι καὶ χρῆσθαι τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖοτατον πῶς ἐδίοντες, καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι γινομένων τὰς καυλὰς καὶ τὰς ῥίζας — Δουλεῖαν δὲ λέγουσιν ἔχον διαγωγὴν τὰς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν τῶν ἰχθύων βρωσίαν — ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βοσκμάτων ἐνικ σαρκοφαγίαν — *Diod. Sic. p. 49. 41.*

“ *seph's* Interpretation, it appears that they
 “ eat *Animal Food*.” p. 271. In the Dream
 it seems, in the uppermost Basket there was
 all manner of BAK'D MEATS for *Pharaoh*,
 and the Birds did eat out of the Basket.
 In the Interpretation, it is, *Pharaoh shall*
hang thee on a Tree, and the Birds shall eat
thy Flesh from off thee. Gen. xl. 17. &c. Now
 is not this an excellent Proof that the *Egypt-*
tians did eat Flesh, because in the Interpre-
 tation it is said—the Birds shall eat *thy* Flesh?
 If this proves any thing, it would prove the
Egyptians to be *Anthropophagi*, errant *Man-*
Eaters.

Perhaps Mr. *Warburton* may lay his Strefs
 upon the Word, BAKEMEATS, since he has
 printed it in Capitals. He certainly has in-
 fer'd from the *English* Word, that the Baker
 prepared *Flesh* for the King: whereas in the
 Original no more is meant, than what was
 prepared by the Baker in those Days, what-
 ever it was.

So again, he refers to the “murmuring
 “ of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness of *Sin*,
 “ when they said, wou'd to God we had
 “ died by the Hand of the Lord in the
 “ Land of *Egypt*, when we sat by the
 FLESH-

" FLESH POTS, and when we did eat Bread
 " to the full. Now we can never suppose
 " the *Egyptians* would suffer their Slaves,
 " whom they kept in so hard Oppression, to
 " riot in *Fleshpots*, if it was as Sir *Isaac* sup-
 " poses, that *Animal Food* was an *Abomina-*
 " *tion* to them." p. 272. *i. e.* Because the
Israelites who were *Shepherds*, and did eat
Flesh in *Egypt*, long'd to be in the Land of
Goshen again, where they did eat *Flesh* and
 Bread to the full: therefore the *Egyptians*,
 a different People from the *Israelites*, and who
 hated *Shepherds*, did eat *Flesh*.

But the principal Argument is taken from
 the Description of *Joseph's* Entertainment of
 his Brethren, by which " it appears that a
 " difference of Diet with regard to such
 " Food, was not the occasion of the *Egypt-*
 " *tian* Enmity to *Shepherds*. The common
 " Provision for the Entertainment was *Ani-*
 " *mal* Food; and no one can doubt whe-
 " ther *Joseph* conformed to the *Egyptian*
 " Diet. He sat single out of State, with
 " regard to the *Egyptians*: The *Egyptians*
 " sat apart with regard to the *Shepherds*;
 " and both were supplied from the Gover-
 " nors

nior's Table, which was furnished from the Stewards *Slaughter-House*. p. 272.

The plain Fact was this: *Shepherds* were to be entertained; for which Reason *Joseph* bids the Ruler of his House, not barely to *make ready*, but *SLAY, and make ready*. The *Egyptians* sat apart by themselves, BECAUSE the *Egyptians* might not eat Bread with the Hebrews, for that is an Abomination to the *Egyptians*. Gen. xliii. 32. Now what is it that created that Abomination to the *Hebrews*, that the *Egyptians* would not eat with them, except the Difference of Diet? The polite *Egyptians* could not abominate the Stranger *Hebrew*, so as not to sit at the same Table with him, were it not from a perfect Dislike and Abhorrence of his Food. For I do not think, that so early as these Times, Superstition had prevailed so far, as it certainly did afterwards, to make them afraid (b) to use the Spit, or Pot, or Knife of a Grecian, or tast the Flesh of a Bullock that was cut with a Grecian Knife.

Two therefore of the Consequences; which Mr. Warburton charges Sir Isaac with "es-

(b) Οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνοσ χρησεται, ἢ δ' ὄβε' αἰσῖσι, ἢ δ' ἐ λείβητι, ἢ δ' ἐ κρέως καὶ θαρῶ βοδὸς διατετμημένῃ Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρᾳ γεύσεται. Herod. l. 2. c. 41.

"*pouſing*," he never did *espouſe*. This *Third*, he is charged with only SEEMING to espouse; and for any thing which Mr. *Warburton* has ſaid to the contrary, he might have openly avowed it; and let it have reſted on the Authorities above cited. Let me now proceed to,

The *Fourth* Conſequence charged upon Sir *Iſaac*. It is this, as it lies in p. 258, That "*the exact Distribution of Property in Egypt was the PRODUCT of the Age of Sefoſtris.*" Fourteen Pages after, when the Conſequence, which Sir *Iſaac* is ſaid to have espoused, was to be refuted, Mr. *Warburton* ſtates his Point thus, — "He [Sir *Iſaac*] ſuppoſes, that the exact Diviſion of the Land of *Egypt* into Property was "FIRST made in the Time of *Sefoſtris.*" p. 272. Surely I need not obſerve, that theſe are Two very different Propoſitions; and Sir *Iſaac* might maintain the firſt, and yet deny the ſecond, with great Conſiſtency. But in Truth Sir *Iſaac* espouſes neither of them. It is ſtrange, that Mr. *Warburton* ſhould charge a Man of Sir *Iſaac*'s known Accuracy, with Conſequences as *admitted* and maintained; and yet not keep to his Words,

Words, or attend to his Reasoning. The Evidence, which Mr. Warburton brings to justify his Charge, is this,— “Sesostris upon
“ *his returning home divided Egypt by Mea-*
“ *sure amongst the Egyptians; and this gave*
“ *a Beginning to Surveying and Geometry.*” Does Sir Isaac say, that *Sesostris* was the First that divided the Land of Egypt into Property? That He divided the Land by Measure, and had a particular Reason for so doing, is indeed said; but that He was the FIRST that did so, is no where said, nor espoused. Sir Isaac produces his Voucher, *Herodotus*, for what he says; and *Herodotus* assigns this Reason for what *Sesostris* did, (c) *That a certain Tax being to be paid from each Man, if the River washed away his Land, it should be measured, and a proportionable Deduction be made; and then he adds, that thence Geometry was, in his Opinion, found out.* What signifies what *Joseph* did 500 or 600 Years before? Egypt had suffer'd two or three great Revolutions betwixt Jo-

(c) Εἰ δὲ τίνος τῷ κλήρῳ ὁ ποταμὸς τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν δὲ τοῦδε ἀφ' ὧν, ἐσῆμασε τὸ γεγενημένον. Ὅσ' ἔτι μὲν τὰς ἐπισκεψαμένους, καὶ ἀναμετρήσαντες ὅσην ἐλάσαν τὴν χεῖρα γέγονε, ὅπως τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποροῆς τέλει. Δακίει δὲ μὴ ἐνδεῶς τὴν Γεωμετρίας ἐκείνου θέσει. Herod. l. i. c. 109.

Joseph's and *Sesostris's* Days. The *Shepherds* had conquer'd it, and they had been expelled again. The very *Exodus* of the Children of *Israel*, and the Consequence of that, the Loss of *Pharaoh's* Army, must occasion great Alterations of Property in the Land. *Sesostris* therefore might *measure* out, or divide the Land, into private Property, notwithstanding what *Joseph* had done before. Or he might have much *more* to divide, as being King of *all Egypt*, than that King in *Joseph's* Days might have. Or he might divide it in other *Proportions*; and in another *Manner*. Here therefore Mr. *Warburton* makes Sir *Isaac* espouse, what he never did admit, viz. That *Sesostris* was the FIRST that divided the Land of *Egypt* into private Property; and then truly confutes him by the Instance of *Joseph*.

But Sir *Isaac* has added a Remark from *Herodotus*, that "this gave a Beginning to
 " Surveying and *Geometry*." And here he is guilty of a manifest Contradiction; for
 " in another Place He draws down the Ori-
 " ginal of *Geometry* still lower. *Mæris*,
 " says he, for preserving the Division of
 " *Egypt* into equal Shares amongst the Sol-
 " diers, wrote a *Book of Surveying*, which
 " gave a Beginning to *Geometry*. Let the
 " Reader

“ Reader now consider, how possible it is to re-
 “ concile this with the following Account of
 “ Joseph’s Administration.” p. 272.

There is no Occasion to reconcile what Sir *Isaac* has said with the Scriptural Account of *Joseph’s* Administration. Had Sir *Isaac* intimated or espoused the Notion that *Sesostris* was the FIRST that divided any of the Land of *Egypt* amongst the People, it might have seemed impossible to reconcile that, to what *Joseph* did so long before. But this is a mere Invention of Mr. *Warburton*, who has imputed to Sir *Isaac* what he has never said. And as to the Beginning of *Geometry*, if by the One, no more was meant than properly *Surveying* and Measuring Land, and in the other Place, *Geometry*, in its fuller Extent, occasioned first by a Book of *Surveying*, there is an End of this seeming Difference.

What Sir *Isaac* has here said, has been observed by others. *Clavius* observed, (a)

Z 3

“ that

(a) Cum Anniversaria *Nili* inundatio agrorum terminos ac limites ita confunderet vastaretque, ut nemo agrum dignoscere posset suum, ceperunt *Aegyptii* animos ad rationem mensurandorum agrorum applicare, ut hoc modo cuilibet quod suum erat redderetur. Quæ quidem ratio agros metiendi, quanquam tunc temporis, adhuc rudis admodum fue-

rit

" that the anniversary Inundation of the
 " Nile so confounded the Bounds of the
 " Fields, that no Man could *know* with
 " Certainty his own Land: This made the
 " Egyptians apply themselves to a Method
 " of measuring Land; that by this Means
 " each Man might have and enjoy his own.
 " That this Method of measuring Fields,
 " tho' at that Time very rough, and not
 " exact, was called *Geometry*. ---- That
 " by Degrees *Geometry* began to be *more*
 " compleat, and not content within its own
 " Bounds, was applied to the Measurement
 " of *Cæstial Bodies*, and deliver'd the
 " Principles of *Astronomy*, *Perspective*, *Cos-*
 " *mography*, &c." Will not this fully ac-
 count for the Use of the Word *Geometry*,
 in a more strict and proper, and in a more
 large and comprehensive Sense?

But says Mr. Warburton, " how does it
 " appear from this simple Fact of *Sesoftris*,
 " dividing the large Champain Country of

rit ac impolita, ab ipso tamen officio Geometria est appellata.
 Γεωμετρία enim, sive γεωμετρεῖν, idem significat quod
 terram metior. Cæterum paulatim deinde Geometria cepta
 est expoliri, & non contenta suis finibus, sese ad corpora etiam
 cælestia dimetienda convertit tradiditque præcepta universæ
 Astronomiæ, Perspectivæ, Cosmographiæ & alijs disciplinis
 quam plurimis, quæ ex ipsa velut radice dependent. *Clarissimus*
in Euclid. Prolegom.

" *Egypt*

“ *Egypt* into Square Fields, by cross-cut
 “ Canals, that it was a dividing *Egypt* by
 “ Measure, and giving a Beginning to Sur-
 “ veying and Geometry. If we examine
 “ the Cause and Effect of that Atchieve-
 “ ment, we shall find, that neither the
 “ one, nor the other Part of the Conclusion,
 “ can be deduced from it. The Cause of
 “ making these Canals was *evidently to*
 “ *drain* the swampy Marshes of this vast
 “ extended Level, and to render the whole
 “ Labourable.” p. 274.

You have here a strong Assertion of Mr. Warburton's, in flat Contradiction to History. *Herodotus* tells us not, that it was to “ drain
 “ the swampy Marshes ;” but that every one had a certain Portion of Land assigned him, and if the River happened to wash away any Part of his Lot, the Man was to come and complain : Upon this, Surveyors were sent, who having measured how much the Land was lessened, the Man was to pay proportionably less of the Tax that was appointed him. Thus has Mr. Warburton mistaken the Cause of this “ Atchievement,” as he calls it : And as to the Effects of it, he says, “ Ground once divided by such

" Canals was in no Danger of a Change of
 " Land Marks, and consequently had small
 " Occasion for future Surveys." This like-
 wise is contrary to Experience; for Land
 annually overflowed for Months together,
 by a turbid River, must necessarily partly
 be washed away, and partly have its Boun-
 daries fill'd up, and in Course there must be
 Occasion for *frequent Surveys*. But I guess
 where his Mistake lies. *Sesostris divided*
Egypt into 36 Nomes or Counties, and dug
a Canal from the Nile to the Head City of
every Nome, and with the Earth dug out of
it, he caused the Ground of the City to be
raised. This was one Act of *Sesostris*; but
 not that which gave Occasion for the In-
 vention of *Geometry*. Another Thing, which
Sesostris did, was to divide *Egypt* amongst
 his many Soldiers and People: And every
 Man was out of his respective Portion,
 which was *measured* to him, to pay a cer-
 tain *Tax* proportionable to his Land. Now
Herodotus tells us, that *this* Division, not
 the *other* Division of the Country into *Nomes*,
 was the Occasion of *Geometry*. And here
 there might be frequent Occasion for Sur-
 veys; whereas in the other, there might be
 no

no great Danger of the Change of Land-Marks. So that Sir *Isaac* is here too misrepresented by Mr. *Warburton*; as well as charged with *espousing* a Consequence, which he does *not* espouse: for he never says that *Sesostris* was the *First* that divided the Land of *Egypt* into private Property.

Pass we next to the “*Fifth* Inference, “ which this great Writer makes from his “ System, *viz.* That *Letters* were unknown “ in *Egypt* till the Time of *David*.” p. 275. This is the *fifth* Consequence, which Mr. *Warburton* charges Sir *Isaac* with *espousing*, whereas it is in Fact the *First* that he espouses, or owns. And it appears to be so true, and so just an Observation, that I am contented to have it stand or fall by his Judgment, that has examined Sir *Isaac*’s Chronology with Care.

Mr. *Warburton* asserts indeed, that “ as “ to the precise Time of the Invention of “ *Egyptian* Letters, it can never be so “ much as *guessed* at: First, because *Hieroglyphics* continued still in Use long after “ Letters had been found out; and Secondly, The Invention of Letters was “ given to the Gods.” p. 138.

Mr.

Mr. *Warburton* had before him a *Guess* at the *precise Time*; and that founded on such Probability, that after all his Endeavours, he has not been able to disprove. The Inventor of *Letters* in *Egypt* is known to be *Thoth*, Secretary to *Osiris*, or *Sesofstris*. For that they were two Persons has not yet been proved. *Thoth* therefore lived in *Sesofstris's* Days; and as *Sesofstris* was deified, and called *Osiris*, the Invention was in the Days of the *Gods*. Mr. *Warburton* too, tho' he tells us, that the *precise Time* of the Invention of *Letters*, can never be so much as guessed at, himself has "guessed at the *precise Time*," when *Letters* were invented in *Egypt*, how wrongly soever he has guessed, viz. when he seems to fix the Times of *Osiris*, according to the "extravagant Chronology of *Egypt*." p. 222. i. e. about 300 Years before *Adam* died, or A. P. J. 1392.

The last Inference, which Mr. *Warburton* pretends to be contrary to Sacred Antiquity is, "That *Egypt* was so thinly peopled before the Birth of *Moses*, that *Pharaoh* said of the *Israelites*, Behold the People of the Children of *Israel* are more and mightier than

“*than we.*” — And to prevent their multiplying, and growing too strong, he caused their Male Children to be drowned. p. 276.

You must give me leave to transcribe from Sir *Isaac* what immediately preceeded this Observation, and then I leave you to judge of its Truth. He had taken Notice, that every City of the *Canaanites* had its own King; and that in the Patriarchs Time, the Fields of *Phœnicia* were not fully appropriated for Want of People. “ The Coun-
“ tries, says he, first inhabited by Man-
“ kind, were in those Days so thinly
“ peopled, that *Four* Kings from the Coasts
“ of *Shinar* and *Elam* invaded and spoiled
“ the *Rephaims*, and the Inhabitants of the
“ Countries of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, and
“ the Kingdoms of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*,
“ *Admah* and *Zeboim*; and yet were pur-
“ sued and beaten by *Abraham* with an
“ armed Force of only 318 Men.” — And
then follows the Observation about *Egypt*.
Chron. p. 186.

Mr. *Warburton*'s Answer to this Obser-
vation is, — “ Yet this Country so thinly
“ peopled before, or at the Birth of *Moses*,
“ was, as we find from Scripture, so vastly
“ populous,

“ populous, by that Time he was sent on
 “ his Mission, that it could keep in Slavery,
 “ fix hundred thousand Men, besides Chil-
 “ dren ; at a Time too, when they were
 “ most powerfully instigated to recover their
 “ Liberty.” p. 276. As if one Master can-
 not keep in Subjection many Slaves, or one
 King many Subjects : Or as if that Coun-
 try might not be *thinly peopled* com-
 paratively, fourscore Years before it became
 populous, either by the Access of Strangers,
 or its own prolific Virtue. (a) *Strabo*, and
Aristotle, and *Pliny*, speak of a peculiar and
 extraordinary Fœcundity in the *Egyptian*
 Women ; and tell us, that they bring forth
 two, three, four, and more, at a Birth ;
 and where there is so very great, and re-
 markable an Encrease, in fourscore or an
 hundred Years, a Country from being
 thinly peopled may with Ease grow very
 populous.

But there was something particular in
 this Case. Sir *Isaac* observed, that before
 the Birth of *Moses*, *Pharaoh* said, --- *Behold*
the Children of Israel are more and mightier

(a) Τὰς δὲ γυναικὰς ἰδοῦσι καὶ τετραδύμα τίλλειν τὰς
 Ἀιγυπτίας. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ ἐπιδύμα τινα ἰσορᾷ τε-
 λούσαι, *Strabo* l. 15. p. 1018. al. 695.

than we. Mr. Warburton cries out, "Amazing Interpretation! The Scripture Relation of that Matter is in these Words,—
 " And Pharaoh said unto his People, Behold
 " the People of the Children of Israel are more
 " and mightier than we. Come on, let us
 " deal wisely with them, lest they multiply;
 " and it come to pass, that when there falleth
 " out any War, they join also unto our Enemies,
 " and fight against us, and so get them
 " out of the Land. Therefore they set over
 " them Taskmasters to afflict them with their
 " Burdens.—But the more they afflicted them,
 " the more they grew and multiplied. By
 " the whole Turn of this Relation, it appears,
 " that more and mightier signify more
 " prolific and healthy."

Mr. Warburton does well to cry out with so much Astonishment, against Sir Isaac, for supposing more to signify more.—"Amazing Interpretation." What then does the Word more signify? Why, more prolific. And what does the Word mightier signify? Why, more healthy. Who will not cry out on such Criticism, "Amazing Interpretation!" Ought he not to have produced one Instance at least of such Signification
 of

of the Words? Is it not *Pharaoh's* Design to hinder them from growing and multiplying? And was not the Foundation of the Fear, that they were already more and mightier than the *Egyptians*. However prolific the *Egyptian* Women were, yet the *Israelitish* Women seem to be more so; and if from seventy Persons, within the Compass of two hundred and fourteen or fifteen Years, could arise two Millions and a half, or near three Millions of People; we are to deduct fourscore Years for the Age of *Moses*; and some little Time more between this formed Design of *Pharaoh*, and *Moses's* Birth, and thence deduct a proportionable Number, in order to know the Numbers of the *Israelites* at that Time. If so many more were born among them, than there was among the *Egyptians*, *Pharaoh* might have Reason to apprehend a Revolt or a Rebellion from them, if a proper Occasion offer'd; and might have just Reason to say, that they were, or soon would be, more and mightier than his own Subjects.

You have the very same Expression, *Gen. xxvi. 16.* *Abimelech* said unto *Isaac*, Go from us, for thou art mightier than we. Did he

he mean thou art more *prolific*, or more *healthy*? Or do not the Words intimate, that *Isaac* was more *strong* than *Abimelech*, from the Numbers of his Descendants? This, like that in *Egypt*, arose from God's peculiar Blessing on *Abraham's* Posterity, which was the very Cause of that Might, which *Abimelech* then, and *Pharaoh* afterwards, was so much afraid of.

Six Inferences then are produced, as *espoused* by Sir *Isaac*, all "contrary to Sacred Antiquity." Four of them are Mr. *Warburton's* own Imaginations, never *espoused*, never admitted, never mentioned by the Knight. The other Two are *espoused*: the One is agreeable to History, the Other is what the Bible itself says.

Not content with the Charge I have been considering, Mr. *Warburton* adds, that this System of the Great Genius whom he has complimented so much, is "repugnant to it-
"self," and "directly contradicting the
"Nature of Things." Unhappy Sir *Isaac*!
"The Sublime Conceptions peculiar to thy
"amazing Genius" are now found to be
"not only repugnant to the Bible, but even
"to themselves!" p. 277. "Worthy only
"the

“ the wild Imagination of those Poetic Fables
 “ bulists from whence they were collected !”
 p. 280.

This Repugnancy to the *Nature of Things* consists in this ; that Sir *Isaac* “ makes this
 “ extraordinary Age of *Sesosthis* to be distinguished
 “ from all others by an inseparable
 “ Mixture of Savage and Polished Manners, which is so unnatural, so incredible,
 “ so impossible a Circumstance, that were
 “ there only this to oppose against his System,
 “ it would be a sufficient *Demonstration*
 “ of its Falseness.” p. 278.

The Charge you see is home ; but how is it proved ? Why truly, “ by fairly and
 “ *honestly* taking in THESE Consequences of
 “ his System, our great Author has subjected
 “ ed it to this Disgrace.” *ibid.* Has Sir
Isaac ever “ taken in” Four of these Consequences ? Or is it *fair* and *honest* in Mr. *Warburton* to charge him with Consequences that he calls “ so unnatural, so incredible, so impossible ?” Take some imaginary Consequences, incredible, impossible ; and say, that if Sir *Isaac* had *fairly and honestly* taken them in, he would have subjected his *Principia*, or his Treatise of *Light and Colours*, to the
 Disgrace

Disgrace of *Repugnancy to itself, and to the Nature of Things*: What then? Would this be any Objection to them? Just as much as it is to his System of Chronology, or as it might be to *Euclid* himself.

But Two Instances are produced, “ The one taken from Sir *Isaac*’s Account of the *State of War*, during this Period; the other from his Account of the *State of Architecture*.” *ibid.*

You are now to *suppose*, or take for granted, that Sir *Isaac* has given “ an Account of the *STATE of War*,” during this Period; as likewise that he has given an Account of the *STATE of Architecture*. Who would not imagine, that Sir *Isaac* had some where treated of the Levies of Soldiers; of the antient Arms used in several Parts of the World *during this Period*; the Fortification of Camps; battering Engines, Sieges, Rewards, Manner of drawing up Armies, &c. ? And so on the other Head, when Sir *Isaac*’s *Account of the State of Architecture* in this *Period* is spoken of, would you not imagine that he has treated upon this Subject, so far as *this Period* was concerned ? that He

A a

had

had mentioned something of *Proportions, Ornaments, Columns, Materials*, and many other Subjects necessary to be mentioned in giving an Account of the STATE of *Architecture*, during any Period? And is there any Thing in Sir *Isaac's Chronology* that will answer these Characters, -- *his Account of the State of War, and State of Architecture, during this Period?* No. But it seems our Author "having made the *Egyptian Hercules* to be *Sesoftris*, is forced to own, "that the War in *Libya* was carried on "with *Clubs*." Allowing this; Is this to "give an *Account of the State of War during this Period.*" If the *Africans* and *Egyptians* fought with *Clubs*, other Nations had, or might have, Cavalry, Chariots of War, and many other Things which he ought to mention, if he had designed to give an Account of the *State of War* during this Period? But as to the Fact, He quotes *Hyginus*, who says, *Afri et Egyptii primum fustibus dimicaverunt*: and He might have added the Authority of *Pliny*, whom I have before quoted for the same Fact. But Mr. *Warburton* adds, That Sir *Isaac* "makes
" *Vulcan*

“ *Vulcan*, whom he supposed to have lived
 “ at this Time, the *Inventor of Military*
 “ *Weapons.*” p. 279. I have already shewn,
 that Sir *Isaac* never made *Vulcan* the *Inven-*
tor of military Weapons; and if the Autho-
 rity of *Hyginus* and *Pliny* be sufficient to
 justify the Fact they are quoted for, what
 is the *unnatural, the incredible, the impossible*
Circumstance, that is of itself a sufficient
 Demonstration of the Falshood of Sir *Isaac*’s
 System? Here are Two Nations go out, and
 fight with a particular Sort of *Clubs*, after
 that *Military Weapons, Swords, Spears, &c.*
 were known in other Parts of the World,
 and after that a Fleet was built on the Red
 Sea. The best and most eminent Maker of
Armour lived in these Times, and assisted
Sesostris with *Armour*, or perhaps with *Iron*
Instruments of War, instead of what was
 made of softer Metals; and was therefore
 deified by Him. Where is the Inconsisten-
 cy, or Incredibility, or Impossibility of this?
Sesostris first fights the *Africans* with Clubs;
 then he invades other Countries; and re-
 ceives from *Vulcan* *Iron Armour, or Weapons.*
 Is there any Absurdity in all this? Sir

Isaac ought "fairly and honestly to have
 "taken in" some "absurd Consequence," and
 then indeed Mr. *Warburton* might have
 triumphed.

The other Instance is still more unlucky
 in Relation to the STATE of Architecture.
 "Sir *Isaac* tells us, that *Tofortbrus*, or *Æf-*
 "*culapius*, an *Egyptian* of the Time of *Se-*
 "*sostris*, found out building with *Square*
 "*Stones.*" p. 279. He is called *Seforthus*
 by *Eusebius*. Μεθ' ον Σέσσορθος, ὃς Ἀσκληπίος παρ'
 Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκλήθη διὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν. Οὗτος καὶ τὴν διὰ
 ζεῶν λίθων οὔρεσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ γεαφῆς ἐπεμελήθη. In
 the third Dynasty of the *Memphitic* Kings
 was *Necherobis*. After him *Seforthus*, who
 was called *Æsculapius* by the *Egyptians* for
 his Skill in Surgery; He also found out the
 Way of building with cut Stones, and took
 Pains in the Art of Writing. The Confu-
 tation of this is to be sought for in these
 Words. "YET his Contemporary, *Sesof-*
 "*tris*, he tells us, divided *Egypt* into 36
 "Nomes or Counties, and dug a Canal
 "from the *Nile* to the Head of every *Nome*;
 "and with the Earth dug out of it, he
 "caused the Ground of the City to be
 "raised

“ raised higher, and built a Temple in every City for the Worship of the *Nome*,
 “ &c. And soon after *Amenophis*, the third
 “ from him, built *Memphis*, and ordered the
 “ Worship of the Gods of *Egypt*, and
 “ built a Palace at *Abydos*, and the *Mem-*
 “ *nonia* at *This* and *Susa*, and the magnifi-
 “ cent Temple of *Vulcan* in *Memphis*.”

p. 279. I do not ask here, what Sir *Isaac* says about the *State of Architecture* during this Period, (of which he says not one Word, except the finding out *building with Square Stones* in *Egypt*) but what is Mr. *Warburton*’s Contradiction to Sir *Isaac*, or what is his Proof, that That Sort of Building was found out in *Egypt* earlier? He quotes Sir *Isaac* for saying, that *Sesostris* dug certain Canals from the *Nile*: Were these Canals faced with Square Stone? Or if they were, *Tosorthrus* had found out the Art. What if *Amenophis* built *Memphis*, or the *Memnonia*, or the magnificent Temple of *Vulcan*? He lived long enough after the Days of *Sesostris*, and after that Manner of building with *Square Stones* was found out; for he was the *Third* from *Sesostris*.

Mr.

Mr. *Warburton* has added a very remarkable Note, in which he tells us "*Homer's* Sentiments of THIS Matter," i. e. (if it be to the Purpose) of *Toforthrus's* Invention of building with *Square Stones*. "*Homer* supposes the Science of Architecture arrived to great Perfection in the Time of the *Trojan War*. For speaking of the Palace of *Paris* (whom as his great Translator rightly observes, he makes to be a *Bel Esprit, and a fine Genius*) he describes it in this Manner.

"Ἐκὼρ δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδρειο βεβήκει
ΚΑΛΑ, τὰ ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἄνδρασιν, οἱ τοτ' Ἀεῖοι
Ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εἰσβάλακι τέκτονες ἄνδρες
Οἱ δὲν ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν.

Il. Z. 312.

" Here we see a magnificent Palace, built by profest Architects with all its Suits of Apartments. As different from the Description of *Hector's* Habitation, as were the Characters of the Masters : Of which last he only says it was a commodious, habitable House.

"Αἰψὰ δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμος ἐν ναιετάοντι
Ἐκὼρος. —————

ibid. 497".

Is

Is it not a Matter of some Wonder, that Mr. *Warburton* should quote this Passage of *Homer*, as something opposed to Sir *Isaac*, when there is not one Word about the *Materials* with which this “magnificent Palace” was built? Or could not “magnificent Palaces” be built, without building them of *Square Stone*? Or was not *Paris* at least a *hundred Years* after the Times of *Sesostris*? And was not *Paris* in *Egypt*, from whence He might learn the Art of building with *Stone*? After all that *Homer* here says, it is no more, than that *Paris* had a *House*, and *Bed-chamber*, and *Porch* to it; and that the best Builders in *Troy* built it. But whether it was built of *Wood*, or *Brick*, or *Flints*, or what Materials, there is not One Syllable; and *Homer*’s Language would encline one to think, that this *Bel-Esprit* was not above working in the Building itself. Nor in short is there any Thing in the Original, like a *magnificent Palace* here described. Indeed if one were to look no further than Mr. *Pope*’s Translation, one could not well form too great an Idea of it.

Hector to *Paris*, lofty *Dome* repairs
 Himself the Mansion rais'd, from every *Part*
 Assembling *Architects* of matchless *Art*.
 Near *Priam's* Court, and *Hector's* Palace stands
 The *Pompous* Structure, and the Town commands.
Iliad. 6. l. 389,—393.

But the Simplicity of *Homer's* Language
 conveys to us not any Thing of Grandeur
 and Magnificence, nor his *Assembling Ar-*
chitects from all *Parts*.

But a real, magnificent *Palace*, and some-
 thing to the Purpose, is not taken Notice of
 by Mr. *Warburton*, I mean That of Old
King Priamus: In which

Πενήκοντ' ἔνισσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο
 Πλήσιοι ἀλλήλων δεδμήμενοι.—

Iliad. ζ. 244.

were Fifty Chambers all of Polished Stone;

Κεράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἑναλίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς
 Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγες θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο
 Πλήσιοι ἀλλήλων δεδμήμενοι· ἐνθάδε γαμβροὶ
 Κοιμῶντο.—

ibid.

On the other Side within the Porch there
 were twelve Chambers of polish'd Stone built
 near one another, for his Sons in Law, and
 their

their Wives. Mr. Pope has translated these five Lines of *Homer* in a beautiful Manner.

And now to *Priam's stately Courts* he came,
 Raised on arch'd Columns of *stupendous Frame* ;
 O'er these a *Range of Marble Structure* runs,
 The rich *Pavillions* of his fifty Sons,
 In fifty Chambers lodged ; and *Rooms of State*
 Oppos'd to these, where *Priam's Daughters* sat :
Twelve Domes for them, and their loved Spouses *shone*,
 Of equal Beauty, and of *polish'd Stone*.

Iliad. 6. l. 304, &c.

But how fine soever this Description of *Priam's Palace* may be, it must be owned, that it gives us the Idea of a much more magnificent Building, than *Homer's* own Words do. *Homer* tells us nothing of *Rooms of State*, or of *Columns of stupendous Frame*, or of *Ranges of Marble Structure*. But supposing all these to have been in *Priam's Palace*,--- What will this prove against Sir *Isaac Newton*, who has told us only, that *Tosortbrus* had found out the Art of Building with *Stone* in *Egypt*, not in *Troy* or in *Asia Minor*, where it might have been in Practice long before his Time. Let *Africanus* and *Eusebius* answer for the Fact.

Sir

Sir *Isaac* depends on their Authority. Or supposing that *Africanus's* Words are to be extended so far as to imply, that *Toforthus* was absolutely the first, who, τὴν διὰ ξέσων λίθων ἀκροδομήν ἔθηκε, found out building with Square Stones; *Syncel.* p. 54. — This may be true, for aught that *Homer* here has said; for Old *Priam* did not live till near a hundred Years after *Toforthus*, and his Invention.

It might have been as much or more to the Purpose to have mentioned *Solomon's* Temple, and the hew'd or Square Stones made use of in That. The Times would here have suited: But that which seems to shew, that cutting, and building with Stone, was then a *new* Invention, may be gathered from the Number of Hands employ'd in that Work. No fewer than *seventy thousand* were employ'd in carrying them, and *eighty thousand* in cutting them in the Mountains; besides *three thousand three hundred*, which ruled the People that wrought in the Work. Too many Hands, had there been any great Skill or Art in such Sort of Work! But then This Building

Building was not in *Egypt*; and consequently no Objection to the Time of *Tosortbus's* Invention in *Egypt*.

I have here sent you a *few* of the Remarks, which I made in perusing this Treatise of Mr. *Warburton*. It is certainly the Work of a Man of Learning and Abilities: However inconclusive his Reasoning is. You will ask me perhaps, Why I have not vindicated myself in Particular against his Attacks? But what relates to me in his *Postscript* is sufficiently replied to in these Papers. As to what concerns me in the Body of his Book, where he treats of the double Sense of Prophecies,---It wants no Answer to shew, that Allegories, or Allegorical Representations, were never by me denied. And as to his *Manner* of introducing Personal Reflections,--- it cannot be worth while to take Notice of them. I had used the Particle *Then*, as an *illative* Particle: *We have Then but one literal Sense of any Prophecy*.---His Answer is, --- " THEN? WHEN? *Why*, " when *all the Rules of Logic are reduced* " *to this Author's Standard.*" As if, *Then*, in the Place I used it, were a Particle of
Time.

364 Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S

Time. Let him glory in such Triumphs unmolested. I shall conclude this Letter, with an Observation of Mr. Warburton, "That Systems, Schemes, and Hypotheses, all bred of Heat in the warm Region of Controversy," give me leave to add, or of a wild Imagination, "will, like Meteors in a troubled Sky, each have its Turn to blaze and pass away." Do you judge, whether this Remark be most applicable to Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, or to Mr. Warburton's *Demonstration of the Divine Legation of Moses from the Omission of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation.* I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your &c.

Feb. 24, 1743-4.

A. A. SYKES.



F I N I S.

WESTERN
A. A. SYKES